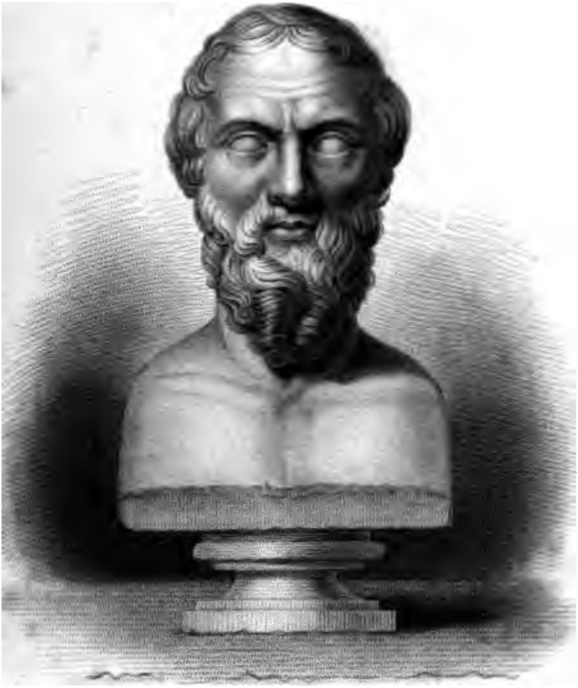
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Edward S. Dodgson.



HERODOTUS.

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HERODOTUS.

TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. WILLIAM BELOE.

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OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

'It would confer but small honor on Mr. Beloe to say that his Translation is very superior to any which has made its appearance in our language. It is written in easy, perspicuous, and occasionally in elegant language.'—Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

HERODOTUS.

HERODOTUS, the oldest of the Greek historians, and called by Cicero the 'Father of History,' was born at Halicarnassus in Caria, an extensive town of Asia Minor, 484 years before Christ. His father's name was Lyxes, and that of his mother Dryo: he was of an illustrious family, originally Dorian, and both his parents were of high estate, according to Strabo, who also mentions that he had an only brother named Theodorus.

The celebrated historians Hellanicus and Thucydides florished nearly at the same time, which was about four years before Xerxes invaded Greece.

Herodotus, when grown up, was driven from his native city, and fixed his abode in Samos, on ac-

count of the tyranny and oppression of Lygdamis, who had caused his uncle Panyasis to be put to death; but it does not appear whether he was expelled or voluntarily retired from Halicarnassus. During his exile he travelled through Greece, Egypt, Asia, Scythia, Thrace and Macedonia; and during his sojourn at Samos he found leisure to arrange his materials and to form the plan for writing his history. Halicarnassus was not at this time wanting in citizens discontented with the tyranny of Lygdamis, and Herodotus having received intelligence of a patriotic design to expel the tyrant, left Samos and hastened to join the conspiracy. On his arrival he dedicated his talents and experience to the cause; and succeeded, at the head of a formidable party, in dethroning the tyrant. Halicarnassus was again free, and the people restored to that liberty which, independently of revenging his uncle's death, was the chief object of our historian's constant wishes. Faction and cabal however soon disgraced the cause he had espoused, and he was obliged to leave his country a second time, and to seek protection in Greece, which soon became the noble theatre of his glory.

Having attained his thirty-ninth year, a generous desire of fame led him publicly to recite a portion

of his history to the people, then assembled at the Olympic games, and which was received with such universal applause, that the names of the nine Muses were unanimously given to the nine books into which it is divided.

The history, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, contains the most remarkable occurrences within a period of 240 years, from the reign of Cyrus, the first king of Persia, to that of Xerxes, when the historian was living. The work, as we have intimated, is divided into nine books, named after the nine Muses. The first book, Clio, treats of the transfer of the kingdom of Lydia from Gyges into the hands of Crœsus; the minority of Cyrus, and his subsequent overthrow of the unwieldy Lydian empire: it also notices the rising greatness of the powerful republics of Athens and Lacedæmon. The second book, the Euterpe, gives a copious and judicious account of Egypt; of Egyptian customs and manners, and a long dissertation on the succession of their kings. The third, the Thalia, contains an account of the exploits and achievements of Cambyses, and particularly of the subjugation of the whole of Egypt by that capricious and tyrannical monarch; and finally, records the election of

Darius Hystaspes to the Persian throne, which was vacant by the death of Smerdis the impostor. The fourth, the Melpomene, gives a detailed narrative of the unfortunate and calamitous expeditions of the Persians, during the reign of Darius Hystaspes, against the Scythians. The fifth, the Terpsichore, mentions the republics of Athens, Lacedæmon and Corinth, in their progress to stability and fame; gives a concise view of their resources and strength, as they existed in the time of the Persian emperor Darius, and concludes with the expulsion of the tyrant Hippias from Athens. The sixth, the Erato, records the origin of the Lacedæmonian kings; the causes which induced Darius to declare war against the Greeks; the first invasion of Greece by the Persians; and finishes with the memorable battle of Marathon. The seventh, the Polyhymnia, contains a full narration of the formidable expedition of Xerxes, the son of Darius Hystaspes, into Greece, and concludes with an animated account of the battle which took place between the Greeks and Persians at the Straits of Thermopylæ. The eighth, the Urania, narrates the farther progress of the arms of Xerxes; the taking and burning of Athens by the Persians; together with the events

which took place at the sea-fight of Salamis, a battle which eventually led to the utter overthrow of the Persian power in Greece. The ninth, the Calliope, treats of the battle of Platea, the fight of the Promontory of Mycale, and the subsequent retreat of the Persians in consequence of these engagements.

Herodotus doubtless selected particular portions which were peculiarly interesting, and showed some well connected series of history combined with a striking character of genius. On this occasion the interesting anecdote of Thucydides took its rise. This youth, about fifteen years of age, while listening with the most composed and serious attention to the Father of History, burst into tears. Herodotus, observing his emotion, exclaimed to Olorus, 'Your son burns with an ardor for science.' Twelve years afterwards he read a continuation of his work to the Athenians at the feast of the Panathenæa; and so delighted were the people with him, that not satisfied with heaping praises on him, they presented him with ten talents; which gift was solemnly ratified by a decree of the people.

It was considered remarkable that Herodotus, by birth a *Dorian*, should have written his history

in the Ionic dialect. He is considered among historians what Homer is among poets, and Demosthenes among orators. His style, says one of his biographers, has always been admired for its flowing ease and sweetness. Cicero compared its course to that of the waters of a still river. It excels chiefly in narration, and wants force and conciseness for sentiment and remark; but the greatest inconvenience attending the perusal of his history results from his method, which is the most irregular and discursive that can be conceived. Notwithstanding all his faults he is the most pleasing writer of antiquity.

Quintilian says that 'many have written well, but every body owns that there are two historians preferable to the rest, though extremely different from each other. Thucydides is close, concise, and even sometimes crowded in his sentences: Herodotus is sweet, copious, and exuberant. Thucydides is more proper for men of warm passions; Herodotus for those of a sedater turn. The former is more forcible; the latter more agreeable.'

The reputation of our historian was now in its zenith; but unable to remain at Athens, he connected himself with a band of adventurers, who

founded a colony at Thurium, in the south of Italy. Among these was Lysias, who afterwards became so renowned an orator.

Herodotus was at this time about forty years of age; and in this colony, from all accounts, he passed the remainder of his days, which he spent in making improvements in his history. There are, however, some authorities who assert that he died at Pella in Macedonia. There is an argument which is at variance with the account of his death at Thurium, resting on a passage which occurs in the life of Thucydides, by Marcellinus, who affirms that the tomb of Herodotus was to be seen at Athens among the monuments of Cimon. The President Bouhier has from this concluded that he died at Athens. On the other hand, Stephen of Byzantium gives an inscription, said to be found at Thurium, which positively asserts, 'This earth contains Herodotus, son of Lyxes, a Dorian by birth, but the most illustrious of the Ionian historians.' It perhaps ought not to be omitted, that many eminent writers, both ancient and modern, accuse Herodotus of not having paid a sufficient regard to the sacred obligation of historic truth. Plutarch, in particular, has opposed many of his assertions; but the unjust tract of Plutarch on the

Malignity of Herodotus has been carefully examined, and satisfactorily refuted, by the Abbé Geinoz, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

He has not wanted defenders in A. Manutius, J. Camerarius, and H. Stephens, who have very justly observed, that he seldom relates any thing of doubtful credit, without producing his authority, or using terms of caution; and some events narrated by him have been confirmed by modern voyagers and discoveries. Independent of this, the personal character of Herodotus would successfully repel every insinuation thrown out against him.

It must however be evident to the admirers of Herodotus that very few accounts of the life of this great and excellent man are to be found amongst the writings of the ancients up to the present period. We mention this circumstance, inasmuch as it ought to be known by what system of education, together with the occurrences in human life, this historian was induced to combine the sacred obligations of religion with the extensive faculty which he possessed of penetrating into the depths of human affairs. Herodotus had written *another history* of Assyria and Arabia, which is *not extant.* *The life* of Homer has been ascribed

to him; but it is evident, that in perusing the style of the poet, that the peculiar suavity of the Ionic dialect, so remarkable in his history, is altogether omitted. There is another circumstance which tends to show, that of all the ancient writers who have recited the fortunes or the poems of Homer, not one has made the slightest allusion to the work bearing the name of Herodotus.

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HERODOTUS.

BOOK I.—CLIO.

CHAP. I.[1] To rescue from oblivion the memory of former incidents, and to render a just tribute of renown to the many great and wonderful actions, both of Greeks and barbarians,[2] Herodotus[3] of Halicarnassus produces this historical essay.

1 The simplicity with which Herodotus commences his history, and enters immediately on his subject, has been much and deservedly admired, and exhibits a striking contrast to the elaborate introductions of modern writers. It is not, however, peculiar to Herodotus; it was the beautiful distinction of almost all the more ancient authors.—*Translator.*

2 As this word so frequently occurs in the progress of our work, it may be necessary, once for all, to advertise the English reader, that the ancients used it in a much milder sense than we do. Much as has been said of the pride of the old Romans, the word in question may tend to prove that they were in some instances less tenacious of their national dignity than the Greeks. The appellation of barbarians was given by the Greeks to all the world but themselves; the Romans gave it to all the world but the Greeks.—*T.*

3 It has been suggested as a doubt by many of the learned whether it ought not to be written Erodotus. For my own part, as I am able to remember no proper name terminating in dorus and dotus, as Diodorus, Diodotus, Heliodorus, &c. which is not derived from the name of a divinity, I have no scruple in asserting my belief that it must be Herodotus, compounded of dotus and the Greek name of Juno.—T.

There is hardly any author, ancient or modern, who has *been more warmly* commended, or more vehemently censured

Among other things, it will be necessary to investigate the sources of the hostilities which subsisted between these people. The more learned of the Persians assert the Phœnicians to have been the original exciters of contention. This nation migrated from the borders of the Red Sea[1] to the place of their present settlement, and soon distinguished themselves by their long and enterprising voyages.[2] They exported to Argos, amongst other places, the produce of Egypt and Assyria. Argos, at that period, was the most famous of all those states which are now comprehended under

than this eminent historian; but even the severe Dionysius declares he is one of those enchanting writers whom you peruse to the last syllable with pleasure, and still wish for more. Plutarch himself, who has made the most violent attack on his veracity, allows him all the merit of beautiful composition.—*Hayley.*

1 When Herodotus speaks, for the first time, of any people, he always goes to their original source. Some authors make the Phœnicians to have originated from the Persian Gulf; which opinion, though reported, is not believed by Strabo. Voltaire, taking it for granted that they migrated by sea, ridicules the idea of their coming from the Red Sea to Phœnicia; as well he might. Larcher proves, in the most satisfactory manner, that his misconception arose from his ignorance of Greek. It is evident from another passage in Herodotus (book vii. chap. 89.) that the Phœnicians, when they changed their place of residence, passed over by land.—*Larcher* (principally).

2 The first among the Greeks who undertook long voyages were the Ionians. On this people Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, has the following remark: 'From the general character by which Homer constantly distinguishes the Phœnicians, as a commercial and seafaring people, it has been naturally supposed that he was indebted to that nation for much of his information with regard to distant voyages. I think we cannot be at a loss to account for the poet's acquiring, *at home*, all the knowlege of this kind which we meet with in his works. We know the Ionians were among the earliest navigators, particularly the Phocæans *and Milesians.* The former are expressly called the *discoverers of Adria,* Iberia, Tuscany, and Tartessus.'—Wood on *Homer.*

the general appellation of Greece.[1] On their arrival here, the Phœnicians exposed their merchandise to sale: after remaining about six days, and when they had almost disposed of their different articles of commerce, the king's daughter, whom both nations agree in calling Io, came, among a great number of other women, to visit them at their station. Whilst these females, standing near the stern of the vessel, amused themselves with bargaining for such things as attracted their curiosity, the Phœnicians, in conjunction, made an attempt to seize their persons. The greater part of them escaped; but Io remained a captive with many others. They carried them on board, and directed their course for Egypt.

II. The relation of the Greeks differs essentially: but this, according to the Persians, was the cause of Io's arrival in Egypt, and the first act of violence which was committed. In process of time, certain Grecians, concerning whose country writers disagree, but who were really of Crete, are reported to have touched at Tyre, and to have carried away Europa, the daughter of the prince. Thus far the Greeks had only retaliated;[2] but they were certainly guilty of the

1 The region known by the name of Hellas or Greece, in the time of Herodotus, was, previous to the Trojan war, and indeed long afterwards, only discriminated by the names of its different inhabitants. Homer speaks of the Danaans, Argives, Achaians, &c. but never gives these people the general name of Greeks.—*Larcher.*

2 The editor is in possession of a translation of the two first books of Herodotus, published in London so early as the year 1584. It is in black letter, and may be considered as a great curiosity. The above passage is thus rendered: 'It chaunced afterward, that certaine Greekes, whose names they knew not, taking shore and landing at Tyrus, in like manner carried *off the kinges* daughter, named Europa. These *were the people of Crete,* otherwise called the Cretenses. *By which meanes yt was* cardes and cardes betweene them,

second provocation. They made a voyage in a vessel of war[1] to Æa, a city of Colchos, near the river Phasis; and, after having accomplished the more immediate object of their expedition, they forcibly carried off the king's daughter Medea. The king of Colchos despatched a herald to demand satisfaction for the affront, and the restitution of the princess; but the Greeks replied, that they should make no reparation in the present instance, as the violence formerly offered to Io remained still[2] unexpiated.

III. In the age which followed, Alexander, the son of Priam, encouraged by the memory of these events, determined on obtaining a wife from Greece by means of similar violence; fully persuaded that this, like former wrongs, would never be avenged.

On the loss of Helen, the Greeks at first employed messengers to demand her person, as well as a compensation for the affront. All the satisfaction they received was reproach for the injury which had been offered to Medea; and they were farther asked, how, under circumstances intirely alike, they could reasonably require what they themselves had denied.

IV. Hitherto the animosity betwixt the two nations extended no farther than to acts of personal and pri-

the one beyng full meete and quit with the other.'—*The first Booke of Clio, London,* 1584.

1 Literally, in a long vessel.—The long vessels were vessels of war, the round vessels, merchantmen and transports.—*T.*

2 It may be urged that the king of Colchos had nothing to do with the violence offered to Io; she was carried off by the Phœnicians. But, according to the Persians, all the nations of Asia composed but one body, of which they were the head. An injury therefore offered to one of the members was considered as an hostility against the whole. Thus, as we see in a succeeding paragraph, the Persians considered *the Greeks* as their enemies from the time of the destruction *of Troy.—Larcher.*

vate violence. But, at this period, continue the Persians, the Greeks certainly laid the foundation of subsequent contention; who, before the Persians ever invaded Europe, doubtless made military incursions into Asia. The Persians appear to be of opinion that they who offer violence to women must be insensible to the impressions of humanity and justice, but that such provocations are as much beneath revenge, as the women themselves are undeserving of regard: it being obvious that all the females thus circumstanced must have been more or less accessary to the fact.[1] They asserted also, that although women had been forcibly carried away from Asia, they had never resented the affront. The Greeks, on the contrary, to avenge the abduction of a Lacedæmonian woman, had assembled a mighty fleet, entered Asia in a hostile manner, and had totally overthrown the empire of Priam. Since which event they had esteemed themselves justified in considering the Greeks as the public enemies of their nation. It is to be observed, that the Persians esteem Asia, with all its various and barbarous inhabitants, as their own peculiar possession, consider-

1 Plutarch, who has written an essay expressly to convict Herodotus of malignity, introduces this as the first argument of the truth of his accusation. The Greeks, says he, unanimously affirm that Io had divine honors paid her by the barbarians; that many seas and capacious harbors were called after her name; that to her many illustrious families owe their original: yet this celebrated writer does not hesitate to say of her, that she yielded herself to a Phœnician mariner, with whom she fled, from the fear of being disgraced by the publication of her crime. He afterwards endeavors to throw an odium on the most illustrious actions of his countrymen, by intimating that the Trojan war was undertaken on account of a profligate woman. '*For it is evident,*' says he, '*that these women would have been never carried away except with their own consent.*'—*Plutarch on the Malignity of Herodotus.*

ing Europe and Greece as totally distinct and unconnected.

V. The above is the Persian tradition; who date the cause and origin of their enmity to Greece from the destruction of Troy. What relates to Io is denied by the Phœnicians; who affirm that she was never forcibly carried into Egypt. They assert, that during their continuance at Argos she yielded to the pilot of their vessel,[1] and proving pregnant, she voluntarily accompanied them to Egypt, to avoid the detection of her crime and the indignation of her parents. Having now stated the different representations of the Persians and Phœnicians, I shall not detain the reader by an investigation of the truth of either narrative. I shall commence with an account of that personage, of whose first attacks on Greece there exists the most unquestionable testimony. I shall, as I proceed, describe with some minuteness the smaller cities and larger communities: for many of these, at present possessed neither of opulence nor power, were formerly splendid and illustrious; others have, even within my remembrance, risen from humility to grandeur. From my conviction therefore of the precarious nature of human felicity,[2] these shall all be respectively described.

1 I make no apology for inserting the following singular translation of the above passage: 'With whose assertions the Phœnices agree not aboute the lady Io; whom they flatly denye to have beene caryed by them into Ægipt in manner of a rape: shewinge howe that in their abode at Argos, shee fortuned to close with the mayster of a shippe, and fearynge and doubtinge greatlye the severitye and cruell tyrannie of her parentes, and the detection of her owne follye, shee willinglye toke shippe and fledde straight awaye.'—*Firste Booke of Clio.*

2 *This moral* reflection of Herodotus cannot fail of bringing *to mind the consolatory* letter written from Greece, by Sulpi*cius to Cicero,* on the death of Tullia the orator's daughter.

VI. Crœsus, by descent a Lydian, was the son of Alyattes, and sovereign of those countries which lie on this side the river Halys. This stream, in its passage from the south[1] towards the north, passes through Syria[2] and Paphlagonia,[3] and finally empties itself into the Euxine. Crœsus, we have reason to believe, was the first of the barbarian princes who exacted tribute from some nations of Greece, and entered into leagues of amity with others. Before his time the Greeks were universally free: he, however, subdued the Æolians, and the Ionians, with such of the Dorians as are situate in Asia, whilst he formed a friendly alliance with the Lacedæmonians. It appears

At the distance of more than four hundred years from the time of Herodotus, Sulpicius thus expresses himself on a similar occasion: 'On my return from Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina towards Megara, I could not help looking round on the circumjacent country. Behind me was Ægina, before me Megara, Piræus on my right hand, Corinth on my left; all which places, formerly florishing and happy, now lay before my eyes prostrate and in ruins,' &c. The whole letter is eminently beautiful, and I lament that it is beyond our limits to transcribe it.—*T.*

1 There are different opinions concerning the course of this river. Arrian says that it does not flow from the south, but from the east. This author, having in his mind the place of the sun's rising in the winter, accuses Herodotus of a mistake in the passage before us. Wesseling had the same idea, who nevertheless has not solved the difficulty. The truth is, there were two rivers of this name, the one rising from the south, the other from the east. Herodotus speaks of the first, Arrian of the last. D'Anville is of the same opinion.—*Larcher.*

2 Syria was at that time the name of Cappadocia. See chap. lxxvi.—*T.*

3 It may appear matter of surprise to some that Herodotus should make the Syrians border on the Paphlagonians. But by the Syrians, Herodotus here means the Cappadocians, called *by the Greeks* Leuco-or White-Syrians. This is *obvious from Strabo, as* well as from Herodotus himself, in his *second book.—Palmerius.*

that the incursion of the Cimmerians[1] into Ionia was before the time of Crœsus; but their sole object was plunder, and none of the cities were molested.

VII. The family of Crœsus were named the Mermnadæ; and it may be proper to relate by what means the empire descended to them from the Heraclidæ. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was king of Sardis, and of the family of Alcæus the son of Hercules.[2] The first of the Heraclidæ was Agron,[3] who reigned also at Sardis: he was the son of Ninus, the grandson of Belus, the great-grandson of Alcæus. Candaules, the son of Myrsus, was the last of this race. The people of this district were in ancient times called Mæonians; they were afterwards named Lydians, from Lydus, the son of Atys. From him, before the time of Agron, the princes of the country de-

1 Strabo dates this incursion of the Cimmerians about the time of Homer, or somewhat before. Wesseling thinks, and with reason, the authority of the geographer of less weight than that of our historian, who supposes it to have been in the reign of Ardyis. See chap. xv. of this book; and chap. xii. of book iv. For my own part, I am of opinion that the two authors speak of two distinct incursions. Herodotus refers to the last. At the time of the first there were no Greek cities in Asia Minor; and it was his intention to intimate that the last had no operation injurious to the liberties of Greece.—*Larcher.*

2 Concerning the name of the son of Hercules by the female slave of Jardanus, Diodorus Siculus and our historian are at variance. Herodotus calls him Alcæus, Diodorus says his name was Cleolaus. But it is by no means surprising that in matters of such remote antiquity writers should disagree. Apollodorus contradicts both Herodotus and Diodorus, and makes Crœsus not one of the Mermnadæ, but one of the Heraclidæ, born of Agelaus, son of Hercules by Omphale. Diodorus calls the son of Hercules by Omphale Lacon. I presume not to decide in this controversy, but with me the authority of Herodotus has the greatest weight.—*Palmerius.*

3 Thus the best manuscripts spell this name. Julius Pollux says that Ninus, son of Belus, called his son Agron because he was born in the country.—*Larcher.*

rived their origin. The Heraclidæ, descended from Hercules and a female slave of Jardanus,[1] enjoyed a delegated authority from these princes, and afterwards obtained the supreme dignity from the declaration of an oracle. They retained their power in regular and uninterrupted succession, from father to son, to the time of Candaules, a period equal to twenty-two ages of man,[2] being no less than five hundred and five years.

VIII. Candaules[3] was attached to his wife beyond the common limits of affection, and conceived, in the ardor of his passion, that her beauty was beyond all

1 In contradiction both to Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, Palæphatus de Incredibilibus writes Jordanus.—*T.*

2 For twenty-two, Larcher reads fifteen ages.—That it ought to be so we are ready enough to believe, and his arguments on the subject are clear, ingenious, and convincing; but having no authority for this reading in any edition which we have had the opportunity of consulting, it was thought proper literally to translate the text.—*T.*

3 The story of Rosamond, queen of the Lombards, as recited by Mr. Gibbon, bears so exact a resemblance to this of Candaules, that we are unable to forego the pleasure of transcribing it.—'The queen of Italy stooped from her throne to the arms of a subject; and Helmichis, the king's armor-bearer, was the secret minister of her pleasure and revenge. Against the proposal of the murder he could no longer urge the scruples of fidelity or gratitude; but Helmichis trembled when he revolved the danger, as well as the guilt. He pressed, and obtained, that one of the bravest champions of the Lombards should be associated to the enterprise; but no more than a promise of secrecy could be drawn from the gallant Perideus. The mode of seduction employed by Rosamond betrays her shameless insensibility both to honor and to love. She supplied the place of one of her female attendants who was beloved by Perideus, and contrived some excuse for darkness and silence, till she could inform her companion that he had lived with the queen of the Lombards, and that his own death, or the death of the king must be the consequence of such *treasonable adultery*. In this alternative he chose *rather to be the accomplice* than the victim of Rosamond, whose *undaunted spirit* was incapable of fear or remorse.'—Gibbon.

competition. Among those who attended near his person, Gyges, the son of Dascylus, had rendered him essential service, and was honored by his particular confidence. To him he frequently extolled the beauty of his wife in exaggerated terms. Under the influence of a most fatal delusion, he took an opportunity of thus addressing him: 'Gyges, I am satisfied that we receive less conviction from what we hear than from what we see,[1] and as you do not seem to credit all I tell you of my wife's personal accomplishments, I am determined that you shall see her naked.' 'Suffer

1 Dionysius Halicarnassensis remarks on this passage, that Herodotus here introducing a barbarian to notice, makes use of a figurative expression peculiarly appropriate to barbarians; substituting the ears and the eyes for the discourse and the sight of objects.

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

Hor. Ars Poet. 180.

Polybius coincides in part with our historian, when he advances, that nature having provided us with two instruments, if they may be so termed, of the senses, hearing and sight, the latter, according to Heraclitus, is the most certain, the eyes being more decisive evidences than the ears. This is in many respects true; but Theophrastus has sagaciously remarked, according to Plutarch, that of all the senses the ear is that by which the passions may be the most easily excited. —*Larcher.*

Our veneration for the ancients, however, must not prevent us from perceiving that both the above remarks want solidity. The truth is, that we do not more implicitly believe our eyes than our ears, or the contrary, except in those cases which respectively demand the testimony of either organs. It should be remembered that when any thing is related to us our ears give no kind of testimony concerning the fact; they inform us only that such words are spoken to us: after which, if what is related be an object of sight, we wish to appeal to our eyes for proof; if an object of hearing, to our ears; if of taste, smell, or touch, to the organs formed for such decision: *and this is the sole* ground of preference in any case. The *remark of Horace* rests on a different foundation, and is very *just.—T.*

me,' replied Gyges, 'to remonstrate against the imprudence of your proposal. Remember, sir, that with her clothes a woman puts off her modesty.[1] Many are the precepts recorded by the sages for our instruction, but there is none more intitled to our regard than that 'it becomes a man to look into those things only which concern himself.' I give implicit confidence to your assertions; I am willing to believe my mistress the most beautiful of her sex; but I beg you not to repeat a request with which it will be criminal to comply.'

IX. Gyges, from apprehension of the event, would have persevered in his refusal; but the king could not be dissuaded from his purpose. 'Gyges,' he resumed, 'you have nothing to fear from me or from your mistress; I do not want to make experiment of your fidelity, and I shall render it impossible for the queen to detect you. I myself will place you behind an open door of the apartment in which we sleep. As soon as I enter my wife will make her appearance: it is her custom to undress herself at leisure, and to place her garments one by one in a chair near the entrance. You will have the fairest opportunity of contemplating her person. As soon as she approaches the bed, and her face is turned from you, you must be careful to leave the room without being discovered.'

1 We can by no means, says Plutarch, in his Conjugal Precepts, allow this saying of Herodotus to be true: for surely, at this time, a modest woman is most effectually veiled by bashfulness, when the purest but most diffident affection proves, in the privacy of matrimonial retirement, the surest testimony of reciprocal love.—*T.*

Timæus in Athenæus affirms that the Tyrrhenians accustomed themselves to be waited on by naked women: and Theopompus, in the same author, adds, that in the above-mentioned nation it was by no means disgraceful for women to appear naked amongst men.—*Larcher.*

X. Gyges had no alternative but compliance. At the time of retiring to rest he accompanied Candaules to his chamber, and the queen soon afterwards appeared. He saw her enter, and gradually disrobe herself. She approached the bed; and Gyges endeavored to retire, but the queen saw and knew him. She instantly conceived her husband to be the cause of her disgrace, and determined on revenge. She had the presence of mind to restrain the emotions of her wounded delicacy, and to seem intirely ignorant of what had happened; although, among all the barbarian nations,[1] and among the Lydians in particular, for a man to be seen naked even is deemed a matter of the greatest turpitude.

XI. The queen persevered in the strictest silence; and, having instructed some confidential servants for the occasion, she sent in the morning for Gyges. He, not at all suspicious of the event, complied instantly with the message, as he was accustomed to do at other times, and appeared before his mistress.[2] As soon as

1 Plato informs us that the Greeks had not long considered it as a thing equally disgraceful and ridiculous for a man to be seen naked; an opinion, says he, which still exists amongst the greater part of the barbarians.—*Larcher*.

To the above remark of Larcher may be added, that according to Plutarch, it was amongst the institutes of Lycurgus, that the young women of Sparta should dance naked at their solemn feasts and sacrifices; at which time also they were accustomed to sing certain songs, whilst the young men stood in a circle about them to see and hear them.—*T*.

2 The wife of Candaules, whose name Herodotus forbears to mention, was, according to Hephæstion, called Nyssia. Authors are divided in their account of this Gyges, and of the manner in which he slew Candaules. Plato makes him a shepherd in the service of the Lydian king, who was possessed of a ring which he found on the finger of a dead man *inclosed within* a horse of bronze. The shepherd, learning *the property which* this ring had to render him invisible *when the seal* was turned to the inside of his hand, got him-

he came into her presence, she thus addressed him: 'Gyges, I submit two proposals to your choice; you must either destroy Candaules, and take possession of me and of the kingdom, or expect immediate death. Your unqualified obedience to your master may prompt you to be once again a spectator of what modesty forbids: the king has been the author of my disgrace; you also, in seeing me naked, have violated decorum; and it is necessary that one of you should die.' Gyges, after he had somewhat recovered from his astonishment, implored her not to compel him to so delicate and difficult an alternative. But when he found that all expostulations were in vain, and that he must either put Candaules to death or die himself, he chose rather to be the survivor. 'Since my master must perish,' he replied, 'and, notwithstanding my reluctance, by my hands, by what means can your purpose be accomplished?' 'The deed,' she answered, 'shall be perpetrated in that very place which was the scene of my disgrace. You shall kill my husband in his sleep.'

XII.[1] Their measures were accordingly concerted: Gyges had no opportunity of escape, nor of evading the alternative before proposed. At the approach of night the queen conducted him to her chamber, and placed him behind the same door, with a dagger in his

self deputed to the court by his fellows, where he seduced the queen, and assassinated Candaules. Xenophon says he was a slave; but this is not inconsistent with the account of Plato, were it in other respects admissible. Plutarch pretends that Gyges took up arms against Candaules, assisted by the Milesians. The opinion of Herodotus seems preferable to the rest: born in a city contiguous to Lydia, no person could be better qualified to represent what relates to that kingdom.—*Larcher.*

1 On the event recorded in this chapter the first book of *Clio* has this curious remark in the margin: 'The Divil in old tyme a disposer of kingdomes, and since the Pope.'—T.

hand. Candaules was murdered in his sleep, and Gyges took immediate possession of his wife and of the empire. Of the above event, Archilochus[1] of Paros, who lived about the same period, has made mention in some Iambic verses.

XIII. A declaration of the Delphic oracle confirmed Gyges in his possession of the sovereignty. The Lydians resented the fate of Candaules, and had recourse to arms. A stipulation was at length made betwixt the different parties, that if the oracle decided in favor of Gyges he should continue on the throne; if otherwise, it should revert to the Heraclidæ. Although Gyges retained the supreme authority the words of the oracle expressly intimated that the Heraclidæ should be avenged in the person of the fifth descendant of Gyges. To this prediction, until it was ultimately accomplished, neither princes nor people paid the smallest attention. Thus did the Mermnadæ

1 As without these concluding lines the sense would be complete, many have suspected them to have been inserted by some copyist. Scaliger has reasoned on them, as if Herodotus meant to intimate, that because Archilochus makes mention of Gyges in his verses, he must have lived at the same period; but this by no means follows.

Of Archilochus, Quintilian remarks that he was one of the first writers of Iambics; that his verses were remarkable for their ingenuity, their elegant style, and nervous sentiment. Book x. chap. i.—He is also honorably mentioned by Horace, who confesses that he imitates him. See 19th Epistle, book I. Ovid, if the Ibis be his, speaks too of the Parian poet. Cicero, in his Tusculan Questions, says that he lived in the time of Romulus. His compositions were so extremely licentious, that the Lacedæmonians ordered them to be removed from their city, and Archilochus himself to be banished. He was afterwards killed in some military excursion, by a person of the name of Coracus. Whoever *wishes to have* a more particular account of Archilochus *may consult Lilius* Gyraldus de Poetar. Histor. dialog. ix. *chap. 14.*

obtain the empire, to the injurious exclusion of the Heraclidæ.

XIV. Gyges, as soon as he was established in his authority, sent various presents to Delphi,[1] a considerable quantity of which were of silver. Among other marks of his liberality, six golden goblets,[2] which weighed no less than thirty talents, deserve particular attention. These now stand in the treasury of Corinth; though, in strict truth, that treasure was not given by the people of Corinth, but by Cypselus the son of Eetion.[3] This Gyges was the first of the barbarians whose history we know, who made votive

1 Amongst the subjects of literary controversy betwixt Boyle and Bentley, this was one: Boyle defended Delphos, principally from its being the common usage; Bentley rejects Delphos as a barbarism, it being merely the accusative case of Delphi. He tells a story of a popish priest, who for thirty years had read mumpsimus in his breviary, instead of sumpsimus; and when a learned man told him of his blunder, replied, 'I will not change my old mumpsimus for your new sumpsimus.' From a similar mistake in the old editions of the Bible in Henry the Eighth's time, it was printed Asson and Mileton; under Queen Elizabeth, it was changed into Asson and Miletum; but in the reign of James the First it was rectified to Assos and Miletus.—*T.*—See *Bentley on Phalaris.*

2 In the time of Herodotus, the proportion of silver to gold was as one to thirteen: these six goblets therefore were equivalent to 2,106,000 livres. The calculations of Herodotus differ in some respects from those of Diodorus Siculus. —*Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis.*

Alyattes and Crœsus obtained their wealth from some mines in Lydia situated between Atarna and Pergamos. The riches of Gyges were proverbial, and were mentioned in the verses of Archilochus: those of Crœsus effectually surpassed them.

Divitis audita est cui non opulentia Crœsi.—*Ovid.*

Larcher.

3 In the temple at Delphi were certain different apartments *or chapels, belonging* to different cities, princes, or *opulent individuals.* The offerings which these respectively *made to the deity* were here deposited.—Larcher.

offerings to the oracle, after Midas the son of Gordius,[1] king of Phrygia. Midas consecrated to this purpose his own royal throne, a most beautiful specimen of art, from which he himself was accustomed to administer justice. This was deposited in the same place with the goblets of Gyges, to whose offerings of gold and silver the Delphians assigned the name of the donor. Gyges, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, carried his arms against Miletus and Smyrna, and took the city Colophon. Although he reigned thirty-eight years, he performed no other remarkable exploit: we shall proceed therefore to speak of his son and successor, Ardys.

XV. This prince vanquished the Prienians, and attacked Miletus. During his reign the Cimmerians, being expelled their country by the Nomades of Scythia, passed over into Asia, and possessed themselves of all Sardis, except the citadel.

XVI. After reigning forty-nine years, he was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years. After him, his son Alyattes possessed the throne. He carried on war against Cyaxares,[2] the grandson of Deioces, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna, which Colophon[3] had built, and

1 There were in Phrygia a number of princes called after these names, as is sufficiently proved by Bouhier.—*Larcher.*

2 This is perfectly consistent. Phraortes, the father of Cyaxares, reigned in Media at the same time that Ardys, grandfather of Alyattes, sat on the throne of Sardis.—*Larcher.*

3 Gyges had taken Colophon, about which time doubtless a colony deserted it, and settled at Smyrna. Κτίζω, as Wesseling properly observes, is continually used for, to send out a colony. In chap. xl. it is said that some Colophonians, banished for sedition, had settled at Smyrna. If he alludes to the same emigrants, their sedition was probably against *Gyges, after his conquest*; but these could hardly be numerous or respectable enough to deserve the name of a colony.—*T.*

invaded Clazomenæ. In his designs on this place he was disappointed; but he performed in the course of his reign many very memorable actions.

XVII. He resumed against the Milesians the war which his father had commenced; and he conducted it in this manner:—As the time of harvest approached, he marched an army into their country, to the sound of the pastoral pipe, harp, and flutes masculine and feminine.[1] On his arrival in their territories he neither burned, nor in any respect injured their edifices which stood in the fields; but he totally destroyed the produce of their lands, and then returned. As the Milesians were securely situated near the sea, all attack on their city would probably have proved ineffectual. His motive for not destroying their buildings was, that they might be induced again to cultivate their lands, and that on every repetition of his incursions he might be secure of plunder.

XVIII. In this manner was the war protracted during a period of eleven years; in which time the Milesians received two remarkable defeats; one in a pitched battle at Limeneium, within their own territories, another on the plains of Meander. Six of these eleven years Sadyattes, the son of Ardys, reigned over the Lydians: he commenced the Milesian war, which his son Alyattes afterwards continued with increase of ardor. The Milesians in this contest received no assistance from any of their neighbors, except from Chios. The inhabitants of Chios offered their support, in return for the aid which they had

1 Aulus Gellius says that Alyattes had in his army female players on the flute. Larcher is of opinion that Herodotus alludes only to the *different* kinds of flutes mentioned in *Terence, or perhaps to the* Lydian and Phrygian flutes, the *sound of one of which* was grave, of the other acute.—T.

formerly received from the Milesians in a war with the Erythræans.

XIX. In the twelfth year of the war the following event happened, in consequence of the corn being set on fire by the enemy's army. A sudden wind directed the progress of the flames against the temple of the Assesian Minerva,[1] and intirely consumed it. It was not at first considered as a matter of any importance but after the return of the army to Sardis Alyattes was seized with a severe and lingering disease. From the impulse of his own mind, or from the persuasion of his friends, he sent to make inquiries of the oracle concerning his recovery. On the arrival of his messengers they were informed that till the temple of the Assesian Minerva, which they had consumed by fire should be restored, no answer would be given them.

XX. Of this circumstance I myself was informed at Delphi: but the Milesians add more. They inform us that Periander, the son of Cypselus, when he heard the answer given to Alyattes, despatched an emissary to Thrasybulus, king of Miletus, with whom he was intimately connected, desiring him to pay suitable attention to the present emergence. This is the Milesian narrative.

XXI. Alyattes, on the return of his messengers despatched an herald to Miletus, whose commission

1 Assesos was a small town dependent on Miletus. Minerva here had a temple, and hence took the name of the Assesian Minerva. This deity was then called the Minerva of Assesos, as we say, at the present day, the Virgin of Loretto.—*Larcher*.

The Virgin in the Romish church certainly resembles in all respects a heathen tulelary divinity, and affords one of *those instances* of similarity between one worship and the *other so* well illustrated in Middleton's celebrated Letter *from Rome.—T.*

was to make a truce with Thrasybulus for such time as might be required to repair the temple. Thrasybulus, in consequence of the intimation he had received, was aware of the intentions of Alyattes, and conducted himself in this manner: all the corn which was found, or could be procured at Miletus, was, by his direction, collected in the most public place of the city; he then ordered the Milesians, at an appointed period, to commence a scene of feasting and convivial mirth.[1]

XXII. Thrasybulus intended the Sardian ambassador should inform his master of the scene of festivity, and of the abundance of provisions he had beheld. He was not disappointed: the herald witnessed the abovementioned spectacle, delivered his message, and returned to Sardis. This, as I have been informed, was the sole occasion of the peace which ensued.

Alyattes had imagined that the Milesians suffered exceedingly from the scarcity of corn, and were reduced to extreme distress. The return of his messenger convinced him he had been mistaken. A strict alliance was immediately formed betwixt the two nations: instead of one, Alyattes erected two temples to Minerva, and was soon afterwards restored to health. The above is a faithful account of the war betwixt Alyattes and the Milesians.

XXIII. Periander, the son of Cypselus, who communicated to Thrasybulus the reply of the oracle, was king of Corinth. A most wonderful incident is said by the Corinthians to have happened in his time, and the story is confirmed by the Lesbians. It is asserted that Arion the Methymnæan was carried to Tænarus

1 Many *stratagems of* a similar nature with this of *Thrasybulus may be found in the* Stratagemeta of Polyænus; a book *not so well known as it* merits.—*T.*

on the back of a dolphin. 'He excelled[1] all his contemporaries in his exquisite performance on the harp; and we have reason to suppose he was the first who invented, named, and taught at Corinth the dithyrambic measure.[2]

XXIV. After residing for a considerable time at the court of Periander he was desirous of visiting Italy and Sicily. Acquiring there considerable wealth, he wished to return with it to Corinth: with this view he embarked at Tarentum in a Corinthian vessel, preferring the mariners of that nation. As soon as they stood out to sea the sailors determined to destroy Arion for the sake of his riches. He discerned their intentions, and offered them his money to preserve his life. The men were obdurate, and insisted that he should either kill himself, that they might bury him on shore, or leap instantly into the sea. Reduced to this extremity, he entreated, that if they would not spare his life, they would at least suffer him to decorate himself in his most valuable clothes, and to give them a specimen of his art in singing; promising that as soon as he had finished he would destroy himself. They were anxious to hear a man reputed the greatest performer in the world, and, in compliance with his request, retired from him to the centre of their vessel. He accordingly dressed himself sumptuously, and,

1 Arion it seems was a citharædus, which differed from the citharistes in this: the former accompanied his instrument with his voice, the latter did not.

2 This was a kind of verse or hymn in honor of Bacchus, or in praise of drinking: it was a rude and perplexed composition, replete with figurative and obscure expressions.—*Bellanger.*

Clemens of Alexandria affirms that the inventor of the dithyrambic was Lassus or Lasus of Hermione. It should seem however from Pindar and his scholiast that this species of poetry is so very ancient that its original inventor cannot be ascertained.—*Larcher.*

standing on the side of the ship with his harp in his hand, he sang to them a species of song termed Orthian.[1] As soon as he had finished he threw himself dressed as he was into the sea. The mariners pursued their course to Corinth; but he, it is affirmed,[2] was taken up by a dolphin and carried to Tænarus. As soon as he got on shore he went, without changing his dress, to Corinth, and on his arrival told what had befallen him. Periander disbelieved his story; and, keeping him in close custody, endeavored to find out the crew. As soon as he had met with them he inquired if they could give him any intelligence of Arion; they replied, that his excursion to Italy had been successful, and that they had left him well at Tarentum. Arion then appeared, dressed as they had seen him leap into the sea: overcome with terror at the circumstance, they confessed their crime. This event is related both by the Corinthians and the Lesbians; and there remains at Tænarus a small figure in brass of a man seated on a dolphin's back, the votive offering of Arion himself.

1 The Orthian hymn was an air performed either on a flute or cithara, in an elevated key and quick time. It was therefore peculiarly adapted to animate combatants. See Aulus Gellius. By this species of song Timotheus so inflamed the ardor of Alexander that he instantly leaped up and called for his arms. See Eustathius. See also Dryden's Ode on St. Cecilia's Day. Maximus Tyrius says that to excite military ardor the Orthian song was peculiarly adapted, as that called Parænion was for social and convivial occasions. See also Homer, book xi.

Thence the black fury through the Grecian throng
With horror sounds the loud Orthian song.—*T.*

2 Voltaire abuses Herodotus for telling this story, as considering it true; but surely without reason, as he by no means *vouches for its truth.*
Gibbon however calls the story-telling tone of Herodotus *half sceptical and half* superstitious.—*T.*

XXV. When he had put an end to the Mile war, and after a reign of fifty-seven years, Alya died. He was the second of his family who m an offering at Delphi, which he did in consequenc his recovery from illness. He presented a large si goblet, with a saucer of iron,[1] curiously inlaid: it wa surprising workmanship, and as worthy of observa as any of the things preserved at Delphi. The n of the maker was Glaucus, an inhabitant of Chios, the inventor of this art of inlaying iron.

XXVI. On the death of his father, Crœsus ceeded to the throne: he began to reign at the ag thirty-five, and he immediately commenced hostil with the Ephesians. Whilst he besieged Ephe with an army, the inhabitants made a solemn ded tion of their city to Minerva, connecting by some l ture[3] their wall to the temple of the goddess. ' temple is at a distance of about seven stadia from old town. Soon afterwards he attacked every st both of the Ionians and the Æolians: the mot which he assigned were various, important in s instances, but, when such could not be found, frivo pretexts sufficed.

XXVII. Not satisfied with compelling the As Greeks to render him tribute, he determined on bu

1 This basin is mentioned in Pausanias, book x.; w also Glaucus is spoken of as the original inventor of the A farther account of Glaucus may be found in Juniu Pictura Veterum.—*T.*

2 The prince of Ephesus, at this time, was Pindar nephew of Crœsus: the story is told at length by Æ book iii. chap. 26.—*T.*

3 The object of the ancients, by thus consecrating towns, was to detain the deities by a kind of force, and *vent their* departure. It was believed that when a city *on the point* of being taken the deities abandoned it.—*cher.*

ing a fleet to attack those who lived in the islands. From this purpose, although he had made great preparations, he was deterred by the memorable reply of Bias[1] of Priene, who was at that time in Sardis; or, as others say, of Pittacus[2] of Mitylene. Of this person the king was inquiring whether there was any intelligence from Greece: 'The islanders, sir,' he replied, 'are about to form a body of ten thousand horse, with the intention of attacking you at Sardis.' The king, supposing him serious, said, that nothing would be more agreeable to him than to see the islanders invading the continent of Lydia with cavalry. The other thus interrupted him: 'Your wish to see the inhabitants of the islands pursue such measures is certainly reasonable; but do you not imagine that the circumstance of your building a fleet to attack the islanders must give them equal satisfaction? They can wish for no better opportunity of revenging the cause of these Greeks on the continent, reduced by you to servitude, than by meeting the Lydians on the ocean.' The wisdom of the remark was acceptable to

1 Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus, severally give an account of Bias. He was one of the seven wise men of Greece. Some fishermen found a golden tripod, on which was inscribed, 'To the wisest:' it was given to Bias, who sent it to Delphi. When his vanquished countrymen fled before the enemy each took with him the most valuable part of his property. Bias took nothing: on being asked why, 'I always carry,' he replied, 'my most valuable things with me,' meaning his learning and abilities.—*T.*

2 Pittacus of Mitylene was another of the seven wise men. His life is written by Diogenes Laertius. In a war betwixt the Athenians and the people of Mitylene he challenged the enemy's general to single combat, and with a net which he secretly brought he entangled and easily conquered his adversary. From this circumstance the contest of the retiarii and *mirmillones* are said first to have arisen. His *most memorable saying was*—'Endeavor to prevent calamity: *if it happen, bear it with* equanimity.'—T.

Crœsus: he not only declined all thoughts of constructing a fleet, but entered into an amicable alliance with the Ionians of the islands.

XXVIII. He afterwards progressively subdued almost all the nations which are situate on this side the river Halys. The Cilicians and the Lycians alone were not brought under his yoke; but he totally vanquished the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Thynians, Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Pamphylians.

XXIX. After Crœsus had obtained all these victories, and extended the power of the Lydians, Sardis became the resort of the great and the affluent, as well as of such as were celebrated in Greece for their talents and their wisdom. Among these was Solon:[1] at the request of the Athenians he had formed a code of laws for their use. He had then engaged in a course of travels, which was to be of ten years' continuance: his avowed purpose was of a philosophical nature; but his real object was to avoid the necessity of abrogating the laws he had enacted. The Athenians were of themselves unable to do this, having bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to preserve inviolate for ten years the institutions of Solon.

XXX. During his absence Solon had visited Amasis in Ægypt, and came now to Crœsus[2] at Sardis. He

1 To give a particular account of Solon would exceed our limits. He was one of the seven wise men of Greece, born at Salamis; and according to Aulus Gellius florished at Athens when Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome. He was a wise, but severe legislator, rescuing his countrymen from superstition, ignorance, and vice. His life is given at length by Plutarch.—*T.*

2 *It is doubted* by some authors whether the interview *which is here* described ever took place. The sagacious

was received on his arrival with the kindest hospitality, and entertained in the palace of Crœsus. In a few days the king directed his servants to attend Solon to the different repositories of his wealth, and to show him their splendid and valuable contents. When he had observed them all, Crœsus thus addressed him :—'My Athenian guest, the voice of fame speaks loudly of your wisdom. I have heard much of your travels; that you have been led, by a truly philosophic spirit, to visit a considerable portion of the globe. I am hence induced to inquire of you what man, of all you have beheld, has seemed to you most truly happy?' The expectation of being himself esteemed the happiest of mankind prompted his inquiry. Solon proved by his reply his attachment to truth and abhorrence of flattery. 'I think,' said he, 'O king! that Tellus the Athenian best deserved the appellation of happy.' Crœsus was astonished. 'On what,' he asked, 'were the claims of Tellus to this distinction founded?' 'Because,' answered Solon, 'under the protection of a most excellent form of government, Tellus had many virtuous and amiable children; he saw their offspring, and they all survived

reply of Solon to Crœsus has been introduced in a variety of compositions ancient and modern. See Juvenal, Sat. x. verse 273. See Ausonius also, and Ovid. The dying speech of Julian, as given by Mr. Gibbon, from Libanius, (vol. iv. p. 200, octavo edition) contains many sentiments similar to these of Solon. 'I have learned,' says Julian, 'from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety.' On which, after commending this story of Cleobis and Bito, in Herodotus, our English historian adds, 'Yet the Jupiter (in the 16th Book of the Iliad) who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his son, had a very imperfect notion of happiness or glory beyond the grave.' Pausanias *relates that the history is represented in a marble monument at Argos.—T.*

him: at the close of a prosperous life we celebrated his funeral with every circumstance of honor. In a contest with some of their neighbors at Eleusis he flew to the assistance of his countrymen: he contributed to the defeat of the enemy, and met death in the field of glory. The Athenians publicly buried him in the place where he fell; and his funeral pomp was magnificently attended.'

XXXI. Solon was continuing to make respectful mention of Tellus when Crœsus anxiously interrupted him, and desired to know whom, next to Tellus, he esteemed most happy; not doubting but the answer would now be favorable to himself. 'Cleobis and Bito,' replied Solon: 'they were Argives by birth, fortunate in their circumstances, and so remarkable for their bodily prowess, that they had both of them been crowned as conquerors in their public games. It is farther related of them that on a certain festival of Juno their mother was to have been carried to the temple in a chariot drawn by oxen. The beasts were not ready for the purpose; but the young men instantly took the yokes on themselves and drew their mother in the carriage to the temple, through a space of forty-five furlongs. Having performed this in the presence of innumerable spectators, they terminated their lives in a manner which was singularly fortunate. In this event the deity made it appear that death is a greater blessing to mankind than life. The surrounding multitude proclaimed their praise: the men commended their prowess: the women envied their mother; who was delighted with the deed itself, and the glory which attended it. Standing before the shrine she implored the divinity, in whose honor her sons exertions had been made, to grant them the greatest blessing man could receive. After her prayers, as

when the succeeding sacrifice and festival were ended, the young men retired to rest within the temple; but they rose no more. The Argives have preserved at Delphi the figures of Cleobis and Bito, as of men deserving superior distinction.' This, according to Solon's estimate, was happiness in the second degree.

XXXII. Crœsus was still dissatisfied: 'Man of Athens!' he resumed, 'think you so meanly of my prosperity, as to place me even beneath men of private and obscure condition?' 'Crœsus,' he replied, 'you inquire of me my sentiments of human nature: of me, who consider the divine beings as viewing us men with invidious and malignant aspects.[1] In the space of a protracted life, how many things occur which we see with reluctance and support with anguish! I will suppose the term of human life to extend to seventy years: this period, if we except the intercalatory months, will amount to twenty-five thousand two hundred days: to make our computation regular and exact, suppose we add this month to each alternate year, we shall then have thirty-five additional months, or one thousand two hundred and fifty days. The whole seventy years will therefore consist of twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty days; yet of this number will every day be productive of some new incident. Thus, Crœsus, does our nature appear a continued series of calamity. I see you as the sovereign of many nations, and possessed of extraordinary affluence and power. But I shall not be able to give a satisfactory answer to the question you propose till I

1 This is one of the passages in which the malignity of Herodotus, according to Plutarch, is most conspicuous. Thus, says *Plutarch,* attributing to Solon what he himself *thinks of the gods,* he adds malice to blasphemy.—T.

know that your scene of life shall have closed with tranquillity. The man of affluence is not, in fact, more happy than the possessor of a bare sufficiency; unless, in addition to his wealth, his end of life be fortunate.[1] We often discern misery in the midst of splendid plenty, whilst real happiness is found in humbler stations. The rich man, who knows not happiness, surpasses but in two things the humbler but more fortunate character with which we compare him. Yet there are a variety of incidents in which the latter excels the former. The rich man can gratify his passions, and has little to apprehend from accidental injuries. The poor man's condition exempts him intirely from these sources of affliction. He moreover possesses strength and health: a stranger to misfortune, he is blessed in his children and amiable in himself. If at the end of such a life his death be fortunate, this, O king! is the truly happy man, the object of your curious inquiry. Call no man happy till you know the nature of his death: he is at best but fortunate. All these requisites for happiness it is in no man's power to obtain, for no one region can supply them; it affords perhaps the enjoyment of some, but it is remarkable for the absence of others. That which yields the more numerous sources of gratification is so far the best: such also is the imperfection of man, excellent in some respects, weak and defective in others. He who possesses the most advantages, and afterwards leaves the world with composure, he alone, O Crœsus! is intitled to our admiration. It is the part of wisdom to look to the event of things; for the Deity often overwhelms with misery

1 This sentence of Solon is paraphrased by Sophocles in his *Œdipus Tyrannus*. It was indeed a very favorite sentiment with the Greeks in general.—*Larcher*.

those who have formerly been placed at the summit of felicity.'

XXXIII. To these words of Solon Crœsus refused both his esteem and praise, and he afterwards dismissed the philosopher with indifference.[1] The sentiment which prompts us not to be elated with temporary bliss, but to look beyond the present moment, appeared to Crœsus neither wise nor just.

XXXIV. Solon was no sooner departed than, as if to punish Crœsus for his arrogance, in esteeming himself the happiest of mankind, a wonderful event befell him, which seemed a visitation from heaven. He saw in his sleep a vision, menacing the calamity which afterwards deprived him of his son. Crœsus had two sons: the one marked by natural defect, being dumb: the other, whose name was Atys, was distinguished by his superior accomplishments. The intimation of the vision which Crœsus saw was, that this Atys should die by the point of an iron spear. Roused and terrified by this dream, he revolved the matter seriously 'n his mind. His first step was to settle his son in narriage: he then took from him the command of the ydian troops whom he before conducted in their warke expeditions: the spears and darts, with every her kind of hostile weapon, he removed in a heap to

. At this period the celebrated Æsop was also at the court Crœsus, and much respected. He was afflicted with the race of Solon; and, conversing with him as a friend— ou see, Solon,' said he, 'that we must either not come kings, or we must entertain them with things agreeable hem.' 'That is not the point,' replied Solon; 'you ld either say nothing to them, or tell them what is use- —'I must confess,' says Bayle, after relating the above, this caution of Æsop argues a man well acquainted the court and great men; but Solon's answer is the true of divines, who direct the consciences of princes.'—T.

the female apartments, that his son might not suffer injury from the fall of them.

XXXV. Whilst the nuptials of this son employed his attention an unfortunate homicide arrived at Sardis, a Phrygian by nation, and of the royal family. He presented himself at the palace of Crœsus, from whom he required and received expiation[1] with the usual ceremonies. The Lydian mode of expiation nearly resembles that in use among the Greeks. When Crœsus had performed what custom exacted he inquired who and whence he was: 'From what part,' said he, 'of Phrygia do you come? why are you a suppliant to me? what man or woman have you slain?' 'O king!' replied the stranger, 'I am the son of Gordius, who was the son of Midas. My name is Adrastus:[2] unwillingly I have killed my brother, for which I am banished by my father, and rendered intirely destitute.' 'You come,' replied Crœsus, 'of a family

1 It was the office of the priests to expiate for crimes committed either from accident or design, and they were therefore called *kathartai*, purifiers: but it should appear from the above, and other similar incidents, that kings anciently exercised the functions of the priesthood.—*T.*

2 There is a passage in Photius relative to this Adrastus, which two learned men, Palmerius and Larcher, have understood and applied very differently. The passage is this: Photius, in his Bibliotheca, giving an account of the historical work of Ptolemæus son of Hephæstion, says thus: 'He also relates that the name of the person who, in the first book of Herodotus, is said to have been killed by Adrastus son of Gordius, was Agathon, and that it was in consequence of some dispute about a quail.'

The above, and as it should seem with greater probability, Palmerius applies to the brother of Adrastus; Larcher understands it of the son of Crœsus.

With respect to the quail, some of our readers may probably thank us for informing them that the ancients had their quail *as the moderns* have their cock-fights.—T.

whom I esteem my friends. My protection shall, in return, be extended to you. You shall reside in my palace, and be provided with every necessary. You will do well not to suffer your misfortune to distress you too much.' Crœsus then received him into his family.

XXXVI. There appeared about this time, near Olympus in Mysia, a wild boar[1] of an extraordinary size, which, issuing from the mountain, did great injury to the Mysians. They had frequently attacked it; but their attempts to destroy it, so far from proving successful, had been attended with loss to themselves. In the extremity therefore of their distress they sent to Crœsus a message of the following import: 'There has appeared among us, O king! a wild boar of a most extraordinary size, injuring us much; but to destroy which all our most strenuous endeavors have proved ineffectual. We intreat you therefore to send to us your son, at the head of a chosen band, with a number of dogs, to relieve us from this formidable animal.' Crœsus, remembering his dream, answered them thus: 'Of my son you must forbear to make mention: him I cannot send: he is lately married, and his time and attention sufficiently employed. But a chosen band of Lydians, hunters and dogs, shall attend you; and I shall charge them to take every possible means of relieving you, as soon as possible, from the attacks of the boar.'

XXXVII. This answer of Crœsus satisfied the

1 It should seem, from the accounts of ancient authors, that the ravages of the wild boar were considered as more formidable than those of the other savage animals. The conquest of the *Erymanthian boar* was one of the fated labors of *Hercules; and the story of* the Caledonian boar is one of the *most beautiful in Ovid.—T.*

Mysians; but the young man hearing of t
and that his father had refused the solicitat
Mysians for him to accompany them, haste
presence of the king, and spoke to him a
'It was formerly, sir, esteemed in our n
excellent and honorable to seek renown in
the hunting of wild beasts: but you now d
of both these opportunities of signalising my
out having reason to accuse me either of co
sloth. Whenever I am now seen in public,
and contemptible shall I appear! How will i
citizens or my new wife esteem me? what c
opinion of the man whom she has married?
then, sir, either to proceed on this expeditic
descend to convince me that the motives o
fusal are reasonable and sufficient.'

XXXVIII. 'My son,' replied Crœsus,
in any respect think unfavorably of your c
your conduct. My behavior towards you is
by a vision, which has lately warned me tha
will be short, and that you must perish from
of an iron spear. This has first of all indu
accelerate your nuptials, and also to refuse
sence in the proposed expedition, wishin
caution, to preserve you at least as long
live. I esteem you as my only son; for you
on account of his infirmity, is in a manner l

XXXIX. 'Having had such a vision,'
Atys to his father, 'I can easily forgive you
concerning me: but as you apparently m
the matter, suffer me to explain what seem
escaped you. The vision, as you affirm, intir
my death should be occasioned by the point c
but what arms or spear has a wild boar that y
dread? If indeed it had been told you th

perish by a tusk, or something of a similar nature, your conduct would have been strictly proper; but, as a spear's point is the object of your alarm, and we are not going to contend with men, I hope for your permission to join this party.'

XL. 'Son,' answered Crœsus, 'your reasoning concerning my dream has induced me to alter my opinion, and I accede to your wishes.'

XLI. The king then sent for Adrastus the Phrygian; whom, on his appearing, he thus addressed: 'I do not mean to remind you of your former calamities; but you must have in memory that I relieved you in your distress, took you into my family, and supplied all your necessities. I have now therefore to solicit that return of kindness which my conduct claims. In this proposed hunting excursion you must be the guardian of my son: preserve him on the way from any secret treachery which may threaten your common security. It is consistent that you should go where bravery may be distinguished and reputation gained: valor has been the distinction of your family, and with personal vigor has descended to yourself.'

XLII. 'At your request, O king!' replied Adrastus, 'I shall comply with what I should otherwise have refused. It becomes not a man like myself, oppressed by so great a calamity, to appear among my more fortunate equals: I have never wished, and I have frequently avoided it. My gratitude in the present instance impels me to obey your commands. I will therefore engage to accompany and guard your son, and promise, as far as my care can avail, to restore him to you safe.'

XLIII. Immediately a band of youths were selected, *the dogs of chase* prepared, and the train departed.

Arrived in the vicinity of Olympus, they sought the beast; and having found his haunt, they surrounded it in a body, and attacked him with their spears. It so happened that the stranger Adrastus, who had been purified for murder, directing a blow at the boar, missed his aim, and killed the son of Crœsus. Thus he was destroyed by the point of a spear, and the vision proved to be prophetic. A messenger immediately hastened to Sardis, informing Crœsus of the event which occasioned the death of his son.

XLIV. Crœsus, much as he was afflicted with his domestic loss, bore it the less patiently because it was inflicted by him whom he had himself purified and protected. He broke into violent complaints at his misfortune, and invoked Jupiter, the deity of expiation, in attestation of the injury he had received. He invoked him also as the guardian of hospitality and friendship:[1] of hospitality, because, in receiving a stranger, he had received the murderer of his son; of friendship, because the man whose aid he might have expected had proved his bitterest enemy.

XLV. Whilst his thoughts were thus occupied the

1 Jupiter was adored under different titles, according to the place and circumstance of his different worshippers.—*Larcher*.

The sky was the department of Jupiter: hence he was deemed the god of tempests. The following titles were given him: Pluvius, Pluviosus, Fulgurator, Fulgurum Effector, Descensor, Tonans. Other epithets were given him, relative to the wants of men, for which he was thought to provide. See Bos (Seager's abridged translation), and Robinson's Antiquities of Greece. The above observation is confined to the Greeks.—The epithets of the Roman Jupiter were almost without number; and there was hardly, as Spence observes, a town, or even hamlet, in Italy, that had not a Jupiter of its own.—*T.*

Lydians appeared with the body of his son:[1] behind followed the homicide. He advanced towards Crœsus, and, with extended hands, implored that he might suffer death on the body of him whom he had slain. He recited his former calamities; to which was now to be added that he was the destroyer of the man who had expiated him: he was consequently no longer fit to live. Crœsus listened to him with attention; and, although oppressed by his own paternal grief, he could not refuse his compassion to Adrastus; to whom he spake as follows: 'My friend, I am sufficiently revenged by your voluntary condemnation of yourself.[2] You are not guilty of this event,[3] for you did it without design. The offended deity, who warned me of the evil, has accomplished it.' Crœsus therefore buried his son with the proper ceremonies: but the unfortunate descendant of Midas, who had killed his brother and his friend, retired at the dead of night to the place where Atys was buried, and, confessing himself to be the most miserable of mankind, slew himself on the tomb.

XLVI. The two years which succeeded the death of his son were passed by Crœsus in extreme affliction. His grief was at length suspended by the increasing greatness of the Persian empire, as well as by that of

1 This solemn procession of the Lydians, bearing to the presence of the father the dead body of his son, followed mournfully by the person who had killed him, would, it is presumed, afford no mean subject for an historical painting. —*T.*

2 Diodorus Siculus relates that it was the first intention of of Crœsus to have burned Adrastus alive; but his voluntary offer to submit to death deprecated his anger.—*T.*

3 See Homer's Iliad, book iii., where Priam thus addresses Helen:

No crime of thine our present sufferings draws;
Not thou, but Heaven's disposing will, the cause.—Pope.

Cyrus, son of Cambyses, who had deprived Astyages, son of Cyaxares, of his dominions. To restrain the power of Persia, before it should become too great and too extensive, was the object of his solicitude. Listening to these suggestions, he determined to consult the different oracles[1] of Greece, and also that of

1 On the subject of oracles, it may not be improper, once for all, to inform the English reader that the Apollo of Delphi was, to use Mr. Bayle's words, the judge without appeal; the greatest of the heathen gods not preserving, in relation to oracles, his advantage or superiority. The oracles of Trophonius, Dodona, and Ammon, had not so much credit as that of Delphi, nor did they equal it either in esteem or duration. The oracle at Abas was an oracle of Apollo; but, from the little mention that is made of it by ancient writers, it does not appear to have been held in the extremest veneration. At Dodona, as we describe it from Montfaucon, there were sounding kettles; from whence came the proverb of the Dodonean brass; which, according to Menander, if a man touched but once, would continue ringing the whole day. Others speak of the doves of Dodona, which spoke and delivered the oracles; of two doves, according to Statius, one flew to Libya, to pronounce the oracles of Jupiter; the other stayed at Dodona: of which the more rational explanation is, that two females established religious ceremonies at the same time, at Dodona, and in Libya; for, in the ancient language of the people of Epirus, the same word signifies a dove and an old woman. At the same place also was an oak, or, as some say, a beech-tree, hallowed by the prejudices of the people from the remotest antiquity.

The oracle of Trophonius' cave, from its singularity, deserves minuter mention. He, says Pausanias, who desired to consult it, was obliged to undergo various preparatory ceremonies, which continued for several days: he was to purify himself by various methods, to offer sacrifices to many different deities; he was then conducted by night to a neighboring river, where he was anointed and washed; he afterwards drank of the water of forgetfulness, that his former cares might be buried; and of the water of remembrance, that he might forget nothing of what he was to see. The cave was surrounded by a wall; it resembled an oven; was *four cubits* wide, and eight deep: it was descended by a *ladder;* and he who went down carried with him cakes *made of honey*: when he was got down he was made ac-

Libya; and for this purpose sent messengers to Delphi, the Phocian Abas, and to Dodona: he sent also to Amphiaraus, Trophonius, and the Milesian Branchidæ. The above-mentioned are the oracles which Crœsus consulted in Greece: he sent also to the Libyan Ammon. His motive in these consultations was to form an idea of the truth of the oracles respectively, meaning afterwards to obtain from them a decisive opinion concerning the propriety of an expedition against the Persians.

XLVII. He took this method of proving the truth of their different communications. He computed with his Lydian messengers that each should consult the different oracles on the hundredth day of their departure from Sardis, and respectively ask what Crœsus, the son of Alyattes, was doing: they were to write down and communicate to Crœsus the reply of each

quainted with futurity. For more particulars concerning this oracle, consult Montfaucon, Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis, in which the different descriptions of antiquity, concerning this and other oracles, are collected and methodised. See also Van Dale. Of the above a classical and correct description may also be found in Glover's Athenaid.

Amphiaraus was one of the seven warriors who fought against Thebes; he performed on that occasion the functions of a priest, and was supposed on that account to communicate oracles after his death. They who consulted him were to abstain from wine for three days, and from all nourishment for twenty-four hours. They then sacrificed a ram before his statue, on the skin of which, spread in the vestibule, they retired themselves to sleep. The deity was supposed to appear to them in a vision, and answer their questions.

The temple of Branchidæ was afterwards, according to Pliny, named the temple of Didymean Apollo. It was burned by Xerxes, but afterwards built with such extraordinary magnificence, that, according to Vitruvius, it was one of the four edifices which rendered the names of their architects immortal. Some account may be found of this temple in *Chishull's Asiatic Antiquities*.—*T.*

particular oracle.[1] Of the oracular answers in general we have no account remaining; but the Lydians had no sooner entered the temple of Delphi, and proposed their questions, than the Pythian[2] answered thus, in heroic verse:

I count the sand, I measure out the sea;
The silent and the dumb are heard by me:
E'en now the odors to my sense that rise,
A tortoise boiling with a lamb supplies,
Where brass below and brass above it lies.

XLVIII. They wrote down the communication of the Pythian, and returned to Sardis. Of the answers which his other messengers brought with them on their return, Crœsus found none which were satisfactory. But a fervor of gratitude and piety was excited in him as soon as he was informed of the reply of the Pythian; and he exclaimed, without reserve, that there was no true oracle but at Delphi, for this alone had explained his employment at the stipulated time. It seems that on the day appointed for his servants to

1 Lucian makes Jupiter complain of the great trouble the deities undergo on account of mankind. 'As for Apollo,' says he, 'he has undertaken a troublesome office: he is obliged to be at Delphi this minute, at Colophon the next, here at Delos, there at Branchidæ, just as his ministers choose to require him; not to mention the tricks which are played to make trial of his sagacity, when people boil together the flesh of a lamb and a tortoise; so that if he had not had a very acute nose, Crœsus would have gone away and abused him.'—*T.*

2 The Pythian Apollo, if we may credit the Greeks themselves, was not always on the best terms with the Muses.—*Lowth on the poetry of the Hebrews.*

Van Dale, in his book De Oraculis, observes that at Delphi the priestess had priests and poets to take down and explain and mend her gibberish; which served to justify Apollo from the imputation of making bad verses; for, if they were defective, the fault was laid on the amanuensis.—*Jortin.*

consult the different oracles, determining to do what it would be equally difficult to discover or explain, he had cut in pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together in a covered vessel of brass.

XLIX. We have before related what was the answer of the Delphic oracle to Crœsus: what reply the Lydians received from Amphiaraus after the usual religious ceremonies, I am not able to affirm; of this it is only asserted that its answer was satisfactory to Crœsus.

L. Crœsus, after these things, determined to conciliate the divinity of Delphi by a great and magnificent sacrifice. He offered up three thousand chosen victims; he collected a great number of couches decorated with gold and silver,[1] many goblets of gold, and vests of purple; all these he consumed together on one immense pile, thinking by these means to render the deity more auspicious to his hopes: he persuaded his subjects also to offer up in like manner the proper objects of sacrifice they respectively possessed. As, at the conclusion of the above ceremony, a considerable quantity of gold had run together, he formed of it a number of tiles. The larger of these were six palms long, the smaller three; but none of them were less than a palm in thickness, and they were one hundred and seventeen in number: four were of the purest gold, weighing each one talent and a half; the rest were of inferior quality, but of the weight of two

1 Prodigal as the munificence of Crœsus appears to have been on this occasion, the funeral pile of the Emperor Severus, as described by Herodian, was neither less splendid nor less costly. He tells us that there was not a province, city, or grandee throughout the wide circuit of the Roman empire which did not contribute to decorate this superb edifice. *When the whole was completed, after many days of preparatory ceremonies, the next successor to the empire with a torch set fire to the pile, and in a little time every thing was consumed.*—*T.*

talents. He constructed also a lion of pure gold,[1] which weighed ten talents. It was originally placed at the Delphian temple, on the above gold tiles; but when this edifice was burned it fell from its place, and now stands in the Corinthian treasury: it lost, however, by the fire three talents and a half of its former weight.

LI. Crœsus, moreover, sent to Delphi two large cisterns, one of gold and one of silver: that of gold was placed on the right hand in the vestibule of the temple; the silver one on the left. These also were removed when the temple was consumed by fire: the golden goblet weighed eight talents and a half and twelve minæ, and was afterwards placed in the Clazomenian treasury: that of silver is capable of holding six hundred amphoræ; it is placed at the entrance of the temple, and used by the inhabitants of Delphi in their Theophanian festival: they assert it to have been the work of Theodorus of Samos;[2] to which opinion, as it is evidently the production of no mean artist, I am inclined to accede. The Corinthian treasury also possesses four silver casks, which were sent by Crœsus, in addition to the above, to Delphi. His munificence did not yet cease: he presented also two basins, one of gold, another of silver. An inscription on that of gold asserts it to have been the gift of the Lacedæmonians; but it is not true, for this also was the gift

1 These tiles, this lion, and the statue of the breadmaker of Crœsus, were all of them at a subsequent period seized by the Phocians, to defray the expenses of the holy war.—*Larcher.*

2 He was the first statuary on record. The following mention is made of him by Pliny:—Theodorus, who constructed the labyrinth at Samos, made a cast of himself in brass, which, independent of its being a perfect likeness, was an extraordinary effort of genius. He had in his right hand a file; *with three fingers of his left he held a carriage drawn by four horses: the carriage, the horses, and the driver, were so minute, that the whole was covered by the wings of a fly.*—T

of Crœsus. To gratify the Lacedæmonians, a certain Delphian wrote this inscription: although I am able, I do not think proper to disclose his name.[1] The boy through whose hand the water flows was given by the Lacedæmonians; the basins undoubtedly were not. Many other smaller presents accompanied these; among which were some silver dishes, and the figure of a woman in gold, three cubits high, who, according to the Delphians, was the person who made the bread for the family of Crœsus.[2] This prince, besides all that we have enumerated, consecrated at Delphi his wife's necklace and girdles.

LII. To Amphiaraus, having heard of his valor and misfortunes, he sent a shield of solid gold, with a strong spear made intirely of gold, both shaft and head. These were all, within my memory, preserved at Thebes, in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo.

LIII. The Lydians who were intrusted with the care of these presents were directed to inquire whether Crœsus might auspiciously undertake an expedition against the Persians, and whether he should procure any confederate assistance. On their arrival at the destined places they deposited their presents, and made the inquiries of the oracles precisely in the

1 If Ptolemæus may be credited in Photius, his name was Æthus.—*T.*

2 Crœsus, says Plutarch, honored the woman who made his bread with a statue of gold, from an honest emotion of gratitude. Alyattes, the father of Crœsus, married a second wife, by which he had other children. This woman wished to remove Crœsus out of the way, and gave the female baker a dose of poison, charging her to put it into the bread which she made for Crœsus. The woman informed Crœsus of this, and gave the poisoned bread to the queen's children. By these means Crœsus succeeded his father, and acknowleged *the fidelity of the woman,* by thus making the god himself *an evidence of his gratitude.*—*T.*

following terms:—'Crœsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, esteems these the only genuine oracles; in return for the sagacity which has marked your declarations he sends these proofs of his liberality: he finally desires to know whether he may proceed against the Persians, and whether he shall require the assistance of any allies.' The answers of the oracles tended to the same purpose; both of them assuring Crœsus that if he prosecuted a war with Persia he should overthrow a mighty empire; and both recommending him to form an alliance with those whom he should find to be the most powerful states of Greece.

LIV. The report of these communications transported Crœsus with excess of joy: elated with the idea of becoming the conqueror of Cyrus, he sent again to Delphi, inquired the number of inhabitants there, and presented each with two golden staters. In acknowlegement for this repeated liberality the Delphians assigned to Crœsus and the Lydians the privilege of first consulting the oracle, in preference to other nations; a distinguished seat in their temple; together with the immutable right, to such of them as pleased to accept it, of being inrolled among the citizens of Delphi.

LV. After the above-mentioned marks of his munificence to the Delphians Crœsus consulted their oracle a third time. His experience of its veracity increased the ardor of his curiosity: he was now anxious to be informed whether his power would ever suffer diminution. The following was the answer of the Pythian:

When o'er the Medes a mule shall sit on high,
O'er pebbly Hermus, then, soft Lydian, fly;
Fly with all haste; for safety scorn thy fame,
Nor scruple to deserve a coward's name.

LVI. When the above verses were communicated to Crœsus he was more delighted than ever; confident that a mule would never be sovereign of the Medes, and that consequently he could have nothing to fear for himself or his posterity. His first object was to discover which were the most powerful of the Grecian states, and to obtain their alliance. The Lacedæmonians of Doric, and the Athenians of Ionian origin, seemed to claim this distinguished preference. These nations, always eminent, were formerly known by the appellation of Pelasgians and Hellenians.[1] The former had never changed their place of residence; the latter often. Under the reign of Deucalion the Hellenians possessed the region of Phthiotis; but under Dorus, the son of Hellenus, they inhabited the country called Istæotis, which borders on Ossa and Olympus. They were driven from hence by the Cadmæans, and fixed themselves in Macednum, near mount Pindus: migrating from hence to Dryopis, and afterwards to the Peloponnesus, they were known by the name of Dorians.

LVII. What language the Pelasgians used I cannot positively affirm: some probable conclusion may perhaps be formed by attending to the dialect of the remnant of the Pelasgians who now inhabit Crestona[2] beyond the Tyrrhenians,[3] but who formerly dwelt in the country now called Thessaliotis, and were neighbors to those whom we at present name Dorians.

1 On this passage Mr. Bryant remarks that the whole is exceedingly confused, and that by it one would imagine Herodotus excluded the Athenians from being Pelasgic. See Bryant's Mythol. vol. iii. 397.—*T.*

2 It appears that Count Caylus has confounded Crestona of Thrace *with Crotona of* Magna Grecia; but as he has adduced no argument in proof of his opinion I do not consider *it of any importance.—Larcher.*

Considering these with the above, who founded the cities of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, but once lived near the Athenians, together with the people of other Pelasgian towns who have since changed their names, we are on the whole justified in our opinion that they formerly spoke a barbarous language. The Athenians therefore, who were also of Pelasgian origin, must necessarily, when they came amongst the Hellenians, have learned their language. It is observable that the inhabitants of Crestona and Placia speak in the same tongue, but are neither of them understood by the people about them. These circumstances induce me to believe that their language has experienced no change.

LVIII. I am also of opinion that the Hellenian tongue is not at all altered. When first they separated themselves from the Pelasgians they were neither numerous nor powerful. They have since progressively increased; having incorporated many nations, barbarians and others, with their own. The Pelasgians have always avoided this mode of increasing their importance; which may be one reason probably why they never have emerged from their original and barbarous condition.

LIX. Of these nations Crœsus had received information that Athens suffered much from the oppression of Pisistratus, the son of Hippocrates, who at this time possessed there the supreme authority. The father of this man, when he was formerly a private spectator of the Olympic games, beheld a wonderful prodigy. Having sacrificed a victim, the brazen vessels, which were filled with the flesh and with water, boiled up and overflowed without the intervention of fire. Chilon *the Lacedæ*monian, who was an accidental witness of *the fact,* advised Hippocrates, first of all, not to marry

a woman likely to produce him children: secondly, if he was already married, to repudiate his wife; but if he had then a son, by all means to expose him. He who received this counsel was by no means disposed to follow it, and had afterwards this son Pisistratus. A tumult happened betwixt those who dwelt on the sea-coast and those who inhabited the plains: of the former Megacles, the son of Alcmæon, was leader; Lycurgus, son of Aristolaides, was at the head of the latter. Pisistratus took this opportunity of accomplishing the views of his ambition. Under pretence of defending those of the mountains he assembled some factious adherents, and put in practice the following stratagem: he not only wounded himself, but his mules,[1] which he drove into the forum, affecting to have made his escape from the enemy, who had attacked him in a country excursion. He claimed therefore the protection of the people, in return for the services which he had performed in his command against the Megareans,[2] by his capture of Nisæa, and by other memorable exploits. The Athenians were deluded by his artifice, and assigned some of their chosen citizens as his guard,[3] armed with clubs in-

1 Ulysses, Zopyrus, and others, availed themselves of similar artifices for the advantage of their country; but Pisistratus practised his to depress and enslave his fellow-citizens. This occasioned Solon to say to him, 'Son of Hippocrates, you ill apply the stratagem of Homer's Ulysses: he wounded his body to delude the public enemies; you wound yours to beguile your countrymen.'—*Larcher.*

2 The particulars of this affair are related by Plutarch in his life of Solon.—*T.*

3 The people being assembled to deliberate on the ambuscade which Pisistratus pretended was concerted against him, assigned him fifty guards for the security of his person. Ariston *proposed the decree*; but when it was once passed *the people acquiesced in his taking as many guards as he thought proper.* Solon, in a letter to Epimenides, preserved

stead of spears. These seconded the purpose of Pisistratus, and seized the citadel. He thus obtained the supreme power; but he neither changed the magistrates nor altered the laws: he suffered every thing to be conducted in its ordinary course; and his government was alike honorable to himself[1] and useful to the city. The factions of Megacles and Lycurgus afterwards united, and expelled him from Athens.

LX. By these means Pisistratus became for the first time master of Athens, and obtained an authority which was far from being secure.

The parties however which effected his expulsion presently disagreed. Megacles, being hard pressed by his opponent, sent proposals to Pisistratus, offering him the supreme power, on condition of his marrying his daughter. Pisistratus acceded to the terms; and a method was concerted to accomplish his return, which to me seems exceedingly preposterous. The Grecians, from the remotest times, were distinguished above the barbarians by their acuteness; and the Athenians, on whom this trick was played, were of all the Greeks the most eminent for their sagacity. There was a Pæaniean woman, whose name was Phya; she wanted but three digits of being four cubits high, and was moreover uncommonly beautiful. She was dressed in a suit of armor, placed in a chariot, and de-

in Diogenes Laertius, but which seems to be spurious, says that Pisistratus required four hundred guards; which, notwithstanding Solon's remonstrances, were granted him. Polyænus says they assigned him three hundred.—*Larcher*.

1 Pisistratus, says Plutarch, was not only observant of the laws of Solon himself, but obliged his adherents to be so too. Whilst in the enjoyment of the supreme authority he was summoned before the areopagus to answer for the crime of murder. He appeared with modesty to plead his cause: his accuser did not think proper to appear. The same fact is related by Aristotle.—*Larcher*.

corated with the greatest imaginable splendor. She was conducted towards the city; heralds were sent before, who, as soon as they arrived within the walls of Athens, were instructed to exclaim aloud—'Athenians, receive Pisistratus again, and with good-will; he is the favorite of Minerva, and the goddess herself comes to conduct him to her citadel.' The rumor soon spread amongst the multitude that Minerva was bringing back Pisistratus. Those in the city being told that this woman was their goddess, prostrated themselves before her, and admitted Pisistratus.[1]

LXI. By these means the son of Hippocrates recovered his authority, and fulfilled the terms of his agreement with Megacles, by marrying his daughter.[2] But, as he had already sons grown up, and as the Alcmæonides were stigmatised by some imputed contamination,[3] to avoid having children by this marriage he refused to live with his wife. This incident, which the woman for a certain time concealed, she afterwards revealed to her mother, in consequence perhaps of her inquiries. The father was soon informed of it, who, exasperated by the affront, forgot his ancient resentments, and entered into a league with those whom he had formerly opposed. Pisistratus, seeing the danger which menaced him, hastily left the coun-

1 The ambitious in all ages have made religion an instrument of their designs, and the people, naturally superstitious and weak, have always been the dupes.—*Larcher*.

2 Her name was Cæsyra, as appears from the Scholiast to the Nubes of Aristophanes.—*Palmerius*.

3 Megacles, who was archon in the time of the conspiracy of Cylon, put the conspirators to death at the foot of the altars where they had taken refuge. All those who had any concern in the perpetration of murder were considered as *detestable.—Larcher*.

try, and, retiring to Eretria, there deliberated with his sons concerning their future conduct. The sentiments of Hippias, which were for attempting the recovery of their dignity, prevailed. They met with no difficulty in procuring assistance from the neighboring states, amongst whom a prejudice in their favor generally prevailed. Many cities assisted them largely with money; but the Thebans were particularly liberal. Not to protract the narration, every preparation was made to facilitate their return. A band of Argive mercenaries came from the Peloponnesus; and an inhabitant of Naxos, named Lygdamis, gave new alacrity to their proceedings by his unsolicited assistance both with money and with troops.

LXII. After an absence of eleven years they advanced to Attica from Eretria, and seized on Marathon, in the vicinity of which they encamped. They were soon visited by throngs of factious citizens[1] from Athens, and by all those who preferred tyranny[2] to freedom. Their number was thus soon and considerably increased. Whilst Pisistratus was providing himself with money, and even when he was stationed

1 The whole account given by Herodotus of the conduct of Pisistratus and his party bears no small resemblance to many circumstances of the Catilinarian conspirators, as described by Cicero and others. Two or three instances are nevertheless recorded of the moderation of Pisistratus, which well deserve our praise. His daughter assisted at some religious festival: a young man who violently loved her embraced her publicly, and afterwards endeavored to carry her off. His friends excited him to vengeance. 'If,' said he in reply, 'we hate those who love us, what shall we do to those who hate us?'—Some young men, in a drunken frolic, insulted his wife: the next day they came in tears to solicit forgiveness. 'You must have been mistaken,' said Pisistratus; 'my wife *did not go* abroad yesterday.'—T.

2 This word tyranny means the government of one person *that is, a monarchy.*

at Marathon the Athenians of the city appeared to be under no alarm: but when they heard that he had left his post, and was advancing towards them, they began to assemble their forces and to think of obstructing his return. Pisistratus continued to approach with his men in one collected body: he halted at the temple of the Pallenian Minerva, opposite to which he fixed his camp. Whilst he remained in this situation Amphylitus, a priest of Acarnania, approached him, and, as if by divine inspiration,[1] thus addressed him in heroic verse:

The cast is made; the net secures the way;
And night's pale gleams will bring the scaly prey.

LXIII. Pisistratus considered the declaration as prophetic, and prepared his troops accordingly. The Athenians of the city were then engaged at their dinner; after which they retired to the amusement of dice, or to sleep.[2] The party of Pisistratus then making the attack, soon compelled them to fly. Pisistratus, in the course of the pursuit, put in execution the following sagacious stratagem to continue their confusion and prevent their rallying: he placed his sons on horseback, and directed them to overtake the fugitives; they were commissioned to bid them all remove their apprehensions, and pursue their accustomed employments.

LXIV. The Athenians took him at his word, and Pisistratus thus became a third time master of Athens.[3]

1 On this passage Mr. Bryant has some observations much too abstruse for our purpose, but well worthy the consideration of the curious. See his Mythology, vol. i. page 259.—T.

2 In all the warmer climates of the globe the custom of sleeping *after dinner is in*variably preserved.

3 *Pisistratus, tyrant* as he was, loved letters, and favored *those who cultivated* them. He it was who first collected

He by no means neglected to secure his authority by retaining many confederate troops, and providing pecuniary resources, partly from Attica itself, and partly from the river Strymon.[1] The children of those citizens who, instead of retreating from his arms, had opposed his progress, he took as hostages, and sent to the island of Naxos; which place he had before subdued, and given up to Lygdamis. In compliance also with an oracular injunction he purified Delos:[2] all the dead bodies which lay within a certain distance of the temple were, by his orders, dug up and removed to another part of the island. By the death of some of the Athenians in battle, and by the flight of others with the Alcmæonides, he remained in undisturbed possession of the supreme authority.

LXV. Such was the intelligence which Crœsus received concerning the situation of Athens. With respect to the Lacedæmonians, after suffering many important defeats, they had finally vanquished the

Homer's works, and presented the public with the Iliad and Odyssey in their present form.—*Bellanger.*

Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, subsequent to the battle of Pharsalia, thus expresses himself: 'We are not yet certain whether we shall groan under a Phalaris or enjoy ourselves under a Pisistratus.'—*T.*

1 This river is very celebrated in classical story: there are few of the ancient writers who have not made mention of it: at the present day it is called, at that part where it empties itself into the Ægean, Golfo di Contessa. On the banks of this river Virgil beautifully describes Orpheus to have lamented his Eurydice. Amongst the other rivers memorable in antiquity for their production of gold were the Pactolus, Hermus, Ganges, Tagus, Iber, Indus, and Arimaspus.—*T.*

2 Montfaucon, but without telling us his authority, says, that the whole island of Delos was consecrated by the birth of Apollo and Diana, and that it was not allowable to bury a dead body in any part of it. It should seem from the passage before us that this must be understood with some restriction.—*T.*

Tegeans. Whilst Sparta was under the government of Leon and Hegesicles, the Lacedæmonians, successful in other contests, had been inferior to the Tegeans alone: of all the Grecian states, they had formerly the worst laws; bad with regard to their own internal government, and to strangers intolerable. They obtained good laws by means of the following circumstance: Lycurgus,[1] a man of distinguished character at Sparta, happened to visit the Delphic oracle. As soon as he had entered the vestibule the Pythian exclaimed aloud,

> Thou comest, Lycurgus, to this honor'd shrine,
> Favor'd by Jove, and ev'ry pow'r divine.
> Or god or mortal! how shall I decide?
> Doubtless to Heav'n most dear and most allied.

It is farther asserted by some that the priestess dictated to him those institutes which are now observed at Sparta: but the Lacedæmonians themselves affirm that Lycurgus brought them from Crete while he was guardian to his nephew Leobotus, king of Sparta. In consequence of this trust, having obtained the direction of the legislature, he made a total change in the constitution, and took effectual care to secure a strict observance[2] of whatever he introduced: he new-modelled the military code, appointing the enomotiæ, the triacades, and the syssitia; he instituted also the ephori,[3] and the senate.

1 For an account of the life and character of Lycurgus we refer the reader, once for all, to Plutarch. His institutes are admirably collected and described by the Abbé Barthelemy, in his Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vol. iv. 110.—*T.*

2 There were some Lacedæmonians who, deeming the laws of Lycurgus too severe, chose rather to leave their country than submit to them. These passed over to the Sabines in Italy; and when these people were incorporated with the Romans, communicated to them a portion of their Lacedæmonian manners.—*Larcher.*

3 Of the enomotiæ and triacades we have been able to

LXVI. The manners of the people became thus more polished and improved: they after his death revered Lycurgus as a divinity, and erected a sacred edifice to his memory.[1] From this period, having a

find no account sufficiently perspicuous to satisfy ourselves, or inform the reader: that of Cragius is perhaps the best; Larcher has a long and elaborate note on the subject, in which he says, that if any person be able to remove the obscurity in which the subject is involved, it must be the Abbé Barthelemy, to whose study and deliberation it must of necessity occur in his intended work on Greece. That work has since appeared; but we find in it little mention of the enomotiæ, &c.

The following account of the ephori, as collected and compressed from the ancient Greek writers, we give from the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis:

'Aristotle, Plutarch, Cicero, Valerius Maximus, and Dion Chrysostom, were of opinion that the ephori were first instituted by Theopompus, who reigned almost a hundred years after the time of Lycurgus. Herodotus, Plato, and another ancient author named Satyrus, ascribe the institution to Lycurgus. The ephori were an intermediate body betwixt the kings and the senate. They were called ephori or inspectors, because their attention was extended to every part of the machine of government. They were five in number; and, to prevent any abuse of their authority, they were chosen annually by the people, the defenders of whose rights they were. They superintended the education of the youth. Every day they appeared in public to decide causes, to arbitrate differences, and to prevent the introduction of any thing which might tend to the corruption of youth. They could oblige magistrates to render an account of their administration; they might even suspend them from their functions, and drag them to prison. The kings themselves were compelled to obey the third summons to appear before the ephori and answer for any imputed fault. The whole executive power was vested in their hands: they received foreign ambassadors, levied troops, and gave the general his orders, whom they could recall at pleasure. So many privileges secured them a veneration, which they justified from the rewards they bestowed on merit, by their attachment to ancient maxims, and by the firmness with which, on several occasions, they broke the force of conspiracies which menaced the tranquillity of the state.'—*T.*

1 *The Lacedæmonians* having bound themselves by a [illegible] *not to abrogate* any of the laws of Lycurgus before [illegible]

good and populous territory, they rapidly rose to prosperity and power. Dissatisfied with the languor and inactivity of peace, and conceiving themselves in all respects superior to the Tegeans, they sent to consult the oracle concerning the intire conquest of Arcadia. The Pythian thus answered them:

Ask ye Arcadia? 'tis a bold demand;
A rough and hardy race defend the land.
Repulsed by them, one only boon you gain,
With frequent foot to dance on Tegea's plain,
And o'er her fields the meas'ring-cord to strain.

No sooner had the Lacedæmonians received this reply than, leaving the other parts of Arcadia unmolested, they proceeded to attack the Tegeans, carrying a quantity of fetters with them. They relied on the evasive declaration of the oracle, and imagined that they should infallibly reduce the Tegeans to servitude. They engaged them, and were defeated:[1] as many as were taken captive were loaded with the fetters which themselves had brought, and thus employed in laborious service in the fields of the Te-

return to Sparta, the legislator went to consult the oracle at Sparta. He was told by the Pythian that Sparta would be happy as long as his laws were observed. On this he resolved to return no more, that he might thus be secure of the observance of these institutions, to which they were so solemnly bound: he went to Crisa, and there slew himself. The Lacedæmonians, hearing of this, in testimony of his former virtue, as well as of that which he discovered in his death, erected to him a temple, with an altar, at which they annually offered sacrifice to his honor as to a hero. The above fact is mentioned both by Pausanias and Plutarch.—*Larcher*.

1 This incident happened during the reign of Charillus. The women of Tegea took up arms; and placing themselves in ambuscade at the foot of Mount Phylactris, they rushed on the Lacedæmonians, who were already engaged with the Tegeans, and put them to flight. The above is from Pausanias.—*Larcher*.

geans. These chains were preserved, even in my remembrance, in Tegea, hung round the temple of the Alean Minerva.[1]

LXVII. In the origin of their contests with the Tegeans they were uniformly unsuccessful: but in the time of Crœsus, when Anaxandrides and Ariston had the government of Sparta, they experienced a favorable change of fortune; which is thus to be explained:

Having repeatedly been defeated by the Tegeans, they sent to consult the Delphic oracle, what particular deity they had to appease to become victorious over their adversaries. The Pythian assured them of success if they brought back the body of Orestes, son of Agamemnon. Unable to discover his tomb, they sent a second time to inquire concerning the place of his interment. The following was the oracular communication:

> A plain[2] within th' Arcadian land I know,
> Where double winds with forced exertion blow,
> Where form to form with mutual strength replies,
> And ill by other ills supported lies:
> That earth contains the great Atrides' son;
> Take him, and conquer: Tegea then is won.

1 This custom of suspending in sacred buildings the spoils taken from the enemy, commencing in the most remote and barbarous ages, has been continued to the present period. See 2 Sam. chap. viii. 'And David took the shields of gold which were on the servants of Hadadezer, and brought them to Jerusalem; which King David did dedicate unto the Lord, with the silver and gold of all nations which he subdued.'

These fetters taken from the Lacedæmonians were seen also in this temple in the time of Pausanias.—It is usual also with the moderns to suspend in churches the colors taken from the enemy.—*T.*

2 *Επιταρροθος* is singularly used here: it means, I presume, '*then you* may have to defend Tegea, having by victory become *proprietor* of it.'—*T.*

After the above, the search for the body was without intermission continued: it was at length discovered by Lichas,[1] one of those Spartans distinguished by the name of agathoërgoi; which title was usually conferred after a long period of service among the cavalry. Of these citizens, five were every year permitted to retire; but were expected during the first year of their discharge to visit different countries on the business of the public.

LXVIII. Lichas, when in this situation, made the wished-for discovery, partly by good fortune, and partly by his own sagacity. They had at this time a commercial intercourse with the Tegeans; and Lichas happening to visit a smith at his forge, observed with particular curiosity the process of working the iron. The man took notice of his attention, and desisted from his labor. 'Stranger of Sparta,' said he, 'you seem to admire the art which you contemplate; but how much more would your wonder be excited if you knew all that I am able to communicate! Near this place, as I was sinking a well, I found a coffin seven cubits long. I never believed that men were formerly of larger dimensions than at present;[2] but when I opened it,

1 In honor of this Lichas the Lacedæmonians struck a medal: on one side was a head of Hercules; on the reverse a head with a long beard, and a singular ornament.—*Larcher.*

2 On this subject of the degeneracy of the human race, whoever wishes to see what the greatest ingenuity can urge, will receive no small entertainment from the works of Lord Monboddo. If in the time of Herodotus this seemed matter of complaint, what conclusions must an advocate of this theory draw concerning the stature of his brethren in the progress of an equal number of succeeding centuries!—*T.*

In the perusal of history traditions are to be found of a pretended *race of giants* in every country of the globe, and *even among the savages* of Canada. Bones of an extraordi*nary size, found in* different regions, have obtained such opi-

I discovered a body equal in length to the coffin: I correctly measured it, and placed it where I found it.' Lichas, after hearing his relation, was induced to believe that this might be the body of Orestes, concerning which the oracle had spoken. He was farther persuaded, when he recollected that the bellows of the smith might intimate the two winds; the anvil and the hammer might express one form opposing another; the iron also, which was beaten, might signify ill succeeding ill, rightly conceiving that the use of iron operated to the injury of mankind. With these ideas in his mind he returned to Sparta, and related the matter to his countrymen; who immediately, under pretence of some imputed crime, sent him into banishment. He returned to Tegea, told his misfortune to him, and hired of him the ground, which he at first refused positively to part with. He resided there for a certain space of time, when, digging up the body, he collected the bones, and returned with them to Sparta. The Lacedæmonians had previously obtained possession of a great part of the Peloponnesus; and after the above-mentioned event their contests with the Tegeans were attended with uninterrupted success.

LXIX. Crœsus was duly informed of all these circumstances: he accordingly sent messengers to Sparta with presents, at the same time directing them to form an offensive alliance with the people. They delivered

nions credit. Some of these, in the time of Augustus, were exhibited at Caprea, formerly the resort of many savage and monstrous animals: these, it was pretended, were the bones of those giants who had fought against the gods. In 1613 *they showed* through Europe the bones of the giant Teuto*bachus: unluckily*, a naturalist proved them to be the bones *of an elephant.—Larcher.*

their message in these terms: 'Crœsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, thus addresses himself to Sparta:—I am directed by the oracles to form a Grecian alliance; and as I know you to be pre-eminent above all the states of Greece, I, without collusion of any kind, desire to become your friend and ally.' The Lacedæmonians having heard of the oracular declaration to Crœsus, were rejoiced at his distinction in their favor, and instantly acceded to his proposed terms of confederacy. It is to be observed that Crœsus had formerly rendered kindness to the Lacedæmonians: they had sent to Sardis to purchase some gold for the purpose of erecting the statue of Apollo, which is still to be seen at Mount Thornax: Crœsus presented them with all they wanted.

LXX. Influenced by this consideration, as well as by his decided partiality to them, they entered into all his views: they declared themselves ready to give such assistance as he wanted; and, farther to mark their attachment, they prepared as a present for the king a brazen vessel, capable of containing three hundred amphoræ, and ornamented round the brim with the figures of various animals. This, however, never reached Sardis; the occasion of which is thus differently explained:—The Lacedæmonians affirm that their vessel was intercepted near Samos, on its way to Sardis, by the Samians, who had fitted out some ships of war for this particular purpose. The Samians, on the contrary, assert that the Lacedæmonians employed on this business did not arrive in time; but hearing that Sardis was lost, and Crœsus in captivity, they disposed of their charge to some private individuals of Samos, who presented it to the temple of Juno. They who acted this part might perhaps, on their return to

Sparta, declare that the vessel had been violent taken from them by the Samians.

LXXI. Crœsus in the mean time, deluded by tl words of the oracle, prepared to lead his forces in Cappadocia, in full expectation of becoming conquer of Cyrus and of Persia. Whilst he was employed providing for his expedition, a certain Lydian, nam Sardanis, who had always among his countrymen tl reputation of wisdom, and became still more mem rable from this occasion, thus addressed Crœsu 'You meditate, O king! an attack on men who a clothed with the skins of animals;[1] who, inhabiting country but little cultivated, live on what they ca procure, not on what they wish: strangers to the tas of wine, they drink water only;[2] even figs are a del cacy with which they are unacquainted, and all o luxuries are intirely unknown to them. If you co quer them, what can you take from them, who ha nothing? But if you shall be defeated, it becom you to think of what you on your part will be d prived. When they shall once have tasted our del cacies, we shall never again be able to get rid of ther I indeed am thankful to the gods for not inspiring tl Persians with the wish of invading Lydia.' Crœs

1 Dresses made of the skins of animals are of the highe antiquity. Not to mention those of Adam and Eve, the Sc thians and other northern nations used them as a defen against the cold. Even the inhabitants of warmer climat wore them before they became civilised.—*Bellanger*.

2 Xenophon, as well as Herodotus, informs us that t Persians drank only water: nevertheless our historian, another place, says that the Persians were addicted to wir In this there is no contradiction: when these Persians we poor, a little satisfied them: rendered rich by the conque of Cyrus and his successors, luxury and all its concomita vices was introduced among them.—Larcher.

disregarded this admonition. It is nevertheless certain that the Persians, before their conquest of Lydia, were strangers to every species of luxury.

LXXII. The Cappadocians are by the Greeks called Syrians. Before the empire of Persia existed they were under the dominion of the Medes, though now in subjection to Cyrus. The different empires of the Lydians and the Medes were divided by the river Halys;[1] which, rising in a mountain of Armenia, passes through Cilicia, leaving in its progress the Matienians on its right, and Phrygia on its left; then stretching towards the north, it separates the Cappadocian Syrians from Paphlagonia, which is situated on the left of the stream. Thus the river Halys separates all the lower parts of Asia from the sea which flows opposite to Cyprus, as far as the Euxine, a space over which an active man could not travel in less than five days.[2]

LXXIII. Crœsus continued to advance towards Cappadocia: he was desirous of adding the country to his dominions; but he was principally influenced by his confidence in the oracle, and his zeal for revenging on Cyrus the cause of Astyages. Astyages was son of Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and brother-in-law to Crœsus: he was now vanquished, and detained in captivity by Cyrus, son of Cambyses. The affinity

1 The stream of this river was colder than any in Ionia, and celebrated for that quality by the elegiac poets.—*Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor.*

2 Scymnus of Chios, having remarked that the Euxine is a seven days' journey distant from Cilicia, adduces the present passage as a proof of our historian's ignorance. Scymnus probably estimated the day's journey at one hundred and fifty furlongs, which was sometimes done; whilst Herodotus makes it *two hundred. This* makes between their two accounts a *difference of fifty furlongs*; a difference too small to put any *one out of temper with* our historian.—Larcher.

betwixt Crœsus and Astyages was of this nature. Some tumult having arisen among the Scythian Nomades, a number of them retired clandestinely into the territories of the Medes, where Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, and grandson of Deioces, was at that time king. He received the fugitives under his protection, and after showing them many marks of his favor, he intrusted some boys to their care, to learn their language, and the Scythian management of the bow.[1] These Scythians employed much of their time in hunting, in which they were generally, though not alike successful. Cyaxares, it seems, was of an irritable disposition, and meeting them one day when they returned without any game, he treated them with much insolence and asperity. They conceived themselves injured, and determined not to acquiesce in the affront. After some consultation among themselves, they determined to kill one of the children intrusted to their care, to dress him as they were accustomed to do their game, and to serve him up to Cyaxares. Having done this, they resolved to fly to Sardis, where Alyattes, son of Sadyattes, was king. They executed their purpose. Cyaxares and his guests partook of the human flesh, and the Scythians immediately sought the protection of Alyattes.

LXXIV. Cyaxares demanded their persons; on refusal of which a war commenced betwixt the Lydians and the Medes, which continued five years. It was attended with various success; and it is remarkable

1 The Scythians had the reputation of being excellent archers. The scholiast of Theocritus informs us, that according to Herodotus and Callimachus, Hercules learned the art of the bow from the Scythian Teutarus. Theocritus himself says that Hercules learned this art from Eurytus, one of the Argonauts. The Athenians had Scythians amongst their troops, as had probably the other Greeks.—Larcher.

that one of their engagements took place in the night. In the sixth year, when neither side could reasonably claim superiority, in the midst of an engagement, the day was suddenly involved in darkness. This phenomenon, and the particular period at which it was to happen, had been foretold to the Ionians by Thales[1] the Milesian. Awed by the solemnity of the event, the parties desisted from the engagement, and it farther influenced them both to listen to certain propositions for peace, which were made by Syennesis of Cilicia and Labynetus[2] of Babylon. To strengthen the treaty, these persons also recommended a matrimonial connexion. They advised that Alyattes should give Aryenis his daughter to Astyages, son of Cyaxares, from the just conviction that no political engagements are durable unless strengthened by the closest of all possible bonds.[3] The ceremony of con-

1 Of Thales, the life is given by Diogenes Laertius; many particulars also concerning him are to be found in Plutarch, Pliny, Lactantius, Apuleius, and Cicero. He was the first of the seven wise men, the first also who distinguished himself by his knowlege of astrology; add to which, he was the first who predicted an eclipse. His most memorable saying was, that he was thankful to the gods for three things—That he was born a man, and not a beast; that he was born a man, and not a woman; that he was born a Greek, and not a barbarian. The darkness in the Iliad, which surprises the Greeks and Trojans in the midst of a severe battle, though represented as preternatural, and the immediate interposition of Jupiter himself, has not the effect of suspending the battle. This might perhaps afford matter of discussion, did not the description of the darkness, and the subsequent prayer of Ajax, from their beauty and sublimity, exclude all critiism.—*T.*

2 The same, says Prideaux, with the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture. He was called, continues the same author, by Berosus, Nabonnedus; by Megasthenes, Nabonnidichus; by Josephus, *Naboardelus.*—*T.*

3 *It is not perhaps* much to the credit of modern refinement *that political intermarriages* betwixt those of royal

firming alliances is the same in this nation as in Greece, with this addition, that both parties wound themselves in the arm and mutually lick the blood.

LXXV. Astyages therefore was the grandfather of Cyrus, though at this time vanquished by him, and his captive, the particulars of which event I shall hereafter relate. This was what excited the original enmity of Crœsus, and prompted him to inquire of the oracle whether he should make war on Persia. The delusive reply which was given him he interpreted in a manner the most favorable to himself, and proceeded in his concerted expedition. When he arrived at the river Halys, he passed over his forces on bridges, which he there found constructed; although the Greeks in general assert that this service was rendered him by Thales the Milesian. Whilst Crœsus was hesitating over what part of the river he should attempt a passage, as there was no bridge then constructed, Thales divided it into two branches. He sunk a deep trench,[1] which commencing above the camp, from the river, was in the form of a semicircle conducted round till it again met the ancient bed. It thus became easily fordable on either side. There are some who say that the old channel was intirely dried up; to which opinion I can by no means assent, for then their return would have been equally difficult.

LXXVI. Crœsus having passed over with his army,

blood seem anciently to have been considered as more solemn in themselves, and to have operated more effectually to the security of the public peace, than at present.—*T.*

1 Anciently, when they wanted to construct a bridge, they began by adding another channel to the river, to turn off the waters: when the ancient bed was dry, or at least when there was but little water left, the bridge was erected. Thus it was much less troublesome to Crœsus to turn the river than to construct a bridge.—*Larcher.*

came into that part of Cappadocia which is called Pteria, the best situated in point of strength of all that district, and near the city of Sinope, on the Euxine. He here fixed his station, and after wasting the Syrian lands, besieged and took the Pterians' principal city. He destroyed also the neighboring towns, and almost exterminated the Syrians, from whom he had certainly received no injury. Cyrus at length collected his forces,[1] and taking with him those nations which lay betwixt himself and the invader, advanced to meet him. Before he began his march he despatched emissaries to the Ionians, with the view of detaching them from Crœsus. This not succeeding, he moved forward, and attacked Crœsus in his camp: they engaged on the plains of Pteria, with the greatest ardor on both sides. The battle was continued with equal violence and loss till night parted the combatants, leaving neither in possession of victory.

LXXVII. The army of Crœsus being inferior in number, and Cyrus on the morrow discovering no inclination to renew the engagement, the Lydian prince determined to return to Sardis, intending to claim the assistance of the Egyptians, with whose king, Amasis, he had formed an alliance previous to his treaty with the Lacedæmonians. He had also made an offensive and defensive league with the Babylonians, over whom Labynetus was then king.[2] With these, in addition to

1 Cyrus, intimidated by the threats of Crœsus, was inclined to retire into India. His wife Bardane inspired him with new courage, and advised him to consult Daniel, who, on more than one occasion, had predicted future events, both to her and to Darius the Mede. Cyrus having consulted the prophet, received from him an assurance of victory. To me this seems one of those fables which the Jews and earlier *Christians made no scruple* of asserting as truths not to be *disputed.—Larcher.*

2 *Labynetus was the* last king of Babylon. He united him-

the Lacedæmonian aids, who were to be ready at a stipulated period, he resolved, after spending a certain time in winter quarters, to attack the Persians early in the spring. Full of these thoughts, Crœsus returned to Sardis, and immediately sent messengers to his different allies, requiring them to meet at Sardis within the space of five months. The troops which he had led against the Persians, being chiefly mercenaries, he disembodied and dismissed, never supposing that Cyrus, who had certainly no claims of victory to assert, would think of following him to Sardis.

LXXVIII. Whilst the mind of Crœsus was thus occupied, the lands near his capital were infested with a multitude of serpents; and it was observed, that to feed on these, the horses neglected and forsook their pastures. Crœsus conceiving this to be of mysterious import, which it unquestionably was, sent to make inquiry of the Telmessian priests[1] concerning it. The answer which his messengers received, explaining the prodigy, they had no opportunity of communicating to Crœsus; for before they could possibly return to Sardis he was defeated and a captive.

The Telmessians had thus interpreted the incident: that a foreign army was about to attack Crœsus, on whose arrival the natives would be certainly subdued; for as the serpent was produced from the earth, the horse might be considered both as a foreigner and an enemy. When the ministers of the oracle reported this answer to Crœsus, he was already in captivity, of

self with Crœsus to repress the too great power of Cyrus. The conduct of Amasis was prompted by a similar motive.—*Larcher.*

1 *Telmessus* was a son of Apollo, by one of the daughters *of Antenor.* He was interred under the altar of Apollo, in *the city of* Telmessa, of which he was probably the founder.—*Larcher.*

which, and of the events which accompanied it, they were at that time ignorant.

LXXIX. Cyrus was well informed that it was the intention of Crœsus, after the battle of Pteria, to dismiss his forces; he conceived it therefore advisable to advance with all imaginable expedition to Sardis before the Lydian forces could be again collected. The measure was no sooner concerted than executed; and conducting his army instantly into Lydia, he was himself the messenger of his arrival. Crœsus, although distressed by an event so contrary to his foresight and expectation, lost no time in preparing the Lydians for battle. At that period no nation of Asia was more hardy or more valiant than the Lydians. They fought principally on horseback, armed with long spears, and were very expert in the management of the horse.

LXXX. The field of battle was a spacious and open plain in the vicinity of Sardis, intersected by many streams, and by the Hyllus in particular, all of which united with one larger than the rest, called the Hermus. This, rising in the mountain, which is sacred to Cybele, finally empties itself into the sea, near the city Phocæa. Here Cyrus found the Lydians prepared for the encounter; and as he greatly feared the impression of their cavalry, by the advice of Harpagus the Mede, he took the following means of obviating the danger. He collected all the camels which followed his camp, carrying the provisions and other baggage; taking from these their burdens, he placed on them men accoutred as horsemen. Thus prepared, he ordered them to advance against the Lydian horse; his infantry were to follow in the rear of the camels, and his own cavalry closed the order of the attack. Having thus arranged his forces, he commanded that no quarter

should be granted to the Lydians, but that whoever resisted should be put to death, Crœsus himself excepted, who, whatever opposition he might make, was at all events to be taken alive. He placed his camels in the van, knowing the hatred which a horse has to this animal,[1] being neither able to support the smell nor the sight of it. He was satisfied that the principal dependence of Crœsus was on his cavalry, which he hoped by this stratagem to render ineffective. The engagement had no sooner commenced than the horses seeing and smelling the camels, threw their own ranks into disorder, to the total discomfiture of Crœsus. Nevertheless the Lydians did not immediately surrender the day: they discovered the stratagem, and quitting their horses, engaged the Persians on foot: a great number of men fell on both sides; but the Lydians were finally compelled to fly, and, retreating within their walls, were there closely besieged.

LXXXI. Crœsus, believing the siege would be considerably protracted, sent other emissaries to his different confederates. The tendency of his former engagements was to require their presence at Sardis within five months. He now entreated the immediate assistance of his other allies, in common with the Lacedæmonians.

LXXXII. At this crisis the Spartans themselves were engaged in dispute with the Argives, concerning the possession of a place called Thyrea;[2] of which

1 This natural antipathy of the horse for the camel is affirmed by the ancients; but it is disproved by daily experience, and derided by the best judges, the orientals.—*Gibbon.* The horses of Crœsus however could never have seen a camel!

2 *Thyrea was, from its situation, a place of infinite importance to the Argives, as they obtained by it a communication with all their other possessions on that side.—Larcher.*

although it really constituted a part of the Argive territories, the Lacedæmonians had taken violent possession. All that tract of country which extends from Argos, westward, to Malea, as well the continent as Cythera, and the other islands, belonged to the Argives. They prepared to defend the part of their territories which had been attacked: but the parties coming to a conference, it was agreed that three hundred men on each side should decide the dispute, and that Thyrea should be the reward of victory. Both the armies, by agreement, were to retire to their respective homes, lest remaining on the field of battle, either should be induced to render assistance to their party. After their departure, the men who had been selected for the purpose came to an engagement, and fought with so little inequality, that out of six hundred but three remained, when night alone had terminated the contest. Of the Argives two survived, whose names were Alcenor and Chromius: they hastened to Argos, and claimed the victory. The Lacedæmonian was called Othryades, who, plundering the bodies of the slaughtered Argives, removed their arms to the camp of his countrymen, and then resumed his post in the field. On the second day after the event the parties met, and both claimed the victory; the Argives, because the greater number of their men survived; the Lacedæmonians, because the Argives who remained had fled, but their single man had continued in the field, and plundered the bodies of his adversaries. Their altercations terminated in a battle,[1] in which, after considerable loss on both sides, the Lacedæmonians were victorious. From

1 Plutarch, on the contrary, affirms that the amphictyons coming to the spot, and bearing testimony to the valor of Othryades, adjudged the victory to the Lacedæmonians. He makes no mention of a second battle.—*Larcher*.

this time and incident the Argives, who formerly suffered their hair to grow in full length, cut it short, binding themselves by a solemn imprecation, that till Thyrea should be recovered, no man should permit his hair to increase, nor Argive woman adorn herself with gold. The Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, issued an edict, that as they formerly wore their hair short,[1] it should henceforth be permitted to grow. It is reported of Othryades, the survivor of his three hundred countrymen, that ashamed to return to Sparta, when all his companions had so honorably died, he put himself to death at Thyrea.[2]

LXXXIII. Whilst the Spartans were in this situation the Sardian messenger arrived, relating the extreme danger of Crœsus, and requesting their immediate assistance. This they without hesitation resolved to give. Whilst they were making for this purpose preparations of men and ships a second messenger brought intelligence that Sardis was taken, and Crœsus in captivity. Strongly impressed by this wonderful calamity, the Lacedæmonians made no farther efforts.

LXXXIV. Sardis was thus taken:—On the fourteenth day of the siege Cyrus sent some horsemen

1 All the Greeks formerly wore their hair very long, which is evident from the epithet so repeatedly given them by Homer, of long-haired. Xenophon, in contradiction to the passage before us, remarks that the Lacedæmonian custom of suffering the hair to grow was amongst the institutions of Lycurgus. Plutarch also denies the fact here introduced.—*Larcher*.

2 This battle necessarily brings to mind the contest of the Horatii and Curiatii, which decided the empire of Rome. The account which Suidas gives of Othryades differs essentially. Othryades, says he, was wounded, and concealed himself amongst the bodies of the slain; and when Alcenor and Chromius, the Argives who survived, were departed, he himself stripped the bodies of the enemy, erected thus a trophy, as it were, of human blood, and immediately died.—T.

his camp, promising a reward to whoever should :ale the wall. The attempt was made, but with- ıccess. After which a certain Mardian, whose was Hyræades,[1] made a daring effort on a part citadel where no sentinel was stationed; it so strong and so difficult of approach, as seem- to defy all attack.[2] Around this place alone had neglected to carry his son Leon, whom he a concubine, the Telmessian priests having de- that Sardis should never be taken if Leon were d round the walls. Leon it seems was carried father round every part of the citadel which xposed to attack. He omitted taking him round hich is opposite to mount Tmolus, from the per- n that its natural strength rendered all modes of :e unnecessary. Here, however, the Mardian ıe preceding day observed a Lydian descend to r his helmet, which had fallen down the preci- He revolved the incident in his mind. He at- ed to scale it: he was seconded by other Per- and their example followed by greater numbers.

: this person Xenophon does not give us the name. ling to him, a Persian who had been the slave of a man itary duty in the citadel served as guide to the troops ıs. In other respects, his account of the capture of differs but little from that of our historian.—*Larcher.*

· means of this very rock, and by a similar stratagem, was a long time afterwards taken, under the conduct of hus. The circumstances are described at length by us. An officer had observed that vultures and birds y gathered there about the offals and dead bodies into the hollow by the besieged; and inferred that ll standing on the edge of the precipice was neglected, ıre from attack. He scaled it with a resolute party, Antiochus called off the attention both of his own army the enemy, *by a feint,* marching as if he intended to *the Persian gate.* Two thousand soldiers rushed in at *opened for them,* and took their post at the theatre, *town was plundered* and burned.—T.

In this manner was Sardis stormed,[1] and aft given up to plunder.

LXXXV. We have now to speak of the Crœsus. He had a son, as I have before relate though accomplished in other respects, was u nately dumb. Crœsus, in his former days fortune, had made every attempt to obtain a this infirmity. Amongst other things, he sen quire of the Delphic oracle. The Pythian r this answer :—

> Wide ruling Lydian, in thy wishes wild,
> Ask not to hear the accents of thy child;
> Far better were his silence for thy peace,
> And sad will be the day when that shall cease.

During the storm of the city a Persian meetin sus, was, through ignorance of his person, a kill him. The king, overwhelmed by his ca took no care to avoid the blow or escape dea his dumb son, when he saw the violent design Persian, overcome with astonishment and ter claimed aloud: 'Oh, man, do not kill Crœsus! was the first time he had ever articulated; but tained the faculty of speech from this event as he lived.

1 Polyænus relates the matter differently. Acco him Cyrus availed himself of a truce which he had c

LXXXVI. The Persians thus obtained possession of Sardis, and made Crœsus captive, when he had reigned fourteen years, and after a siege of fourteen days; a mighty empire, agreeably to the prediction which had deluded him, being then destroyed. The Persians brought him to the presence of Cyrus, who ordered him to be placed in chains on the summit of a huge wooden pile,[1] and fourteen Lydian youths around him. He did this, either desirous of offering to some deity the first fruits of his victory, in compliance with some vow which he had made; or perhaps anxious to know whether any deity would liberate Crœsus, of whose piety he had heard much, from the danger of being consumed by fire. When Crœsus stood erect on the pile, although in this extremity of misery, he did not forget the saying of Solon, which now appeared of divine inspiration, that no living mortal could be accounted happy. When the memory of this saying occurred to Crœsus, it is said, that rousing himself from the profoundest silence of affliction, he thrice pronounced aloud the name of Solon.[2] Cyrus hearing this, desired by his interpreters

1 The cruelty of this conduct of Cyrus is aggravated from the consideration that Crœsus was his relation. See chap. lxxiii.—*T.*

2 It seems in this place not improper to introduce from Plutarch the following particulars with respect to Crœsus and Solon. That Solon, says Plutarch, should converse with Crœsus, seems to some not consistent with chronology; but I cannot for this reason reject a relation so credible in itself, and so well attested. Plutarch, after this remark, proceeds to give an account of the conversation betwixt Crœsus and Solon, nearly in the same words with Herodotus: 'The felicity of that man,' concludes the philosopher to the king, 'who still lives, is like the glory of a wrestler still within the *ring, precarious* and uncertain.' He was then dismissed, *having vexed but not* instructed Crœsus. But when Crœsus *was conquered by* Cyrus, his city taken, and himself a pri-

to know who it was that he invoked. They approached, and asked him, but he continued silent. At length, being compelled to explain himself, he said: 'I named a man with whom I had rather that all kings should converse, than be master of the greatest riches.' Not being sufficiently understood, he was solicited to be more explicit: to their repeated and importunate inquiries, he replied to this effect: That Solon, an Athenian, had formerly visited him; a man who, when he had seen all his immense riches, treated them with disdain; whose sayings were at that moment verified in his fate; sayings which he had applied not to him in particular, but to all mankind, and especially to those who were in their own estimation happy. While Crœsus was thus speaking the pile was lighted, and the flame began to ascend. Cyrus being informed of what had passed, felt compunction for what he had done. His heart reproached him, that being himself a mortal, he had condemned to a cruel death by fire a man formerly not inferior to himself. He feared the anger of the gods, and reflecting that all human affairs are precarious and uncertain, he commanded the fire to be instantly extinguished, and Crœsus to be saved with his companions. The flames, however, repelled the efforts of the ministers of Cyrus.

LXXXVII. In this extremity, the Lydians affirm that Crœsus, informed of the change of the king's sentiments in his favor by seeing the officious efforts

soner, he was bound, and about to be burned on a pile; then he remembered the words of Solon, and three times pronounced his name. The explanation given at the request of Cyrus preserved the life of Crœsus, and obtained him respect and honor with his conqueror. Thus Solon had the glory, by the same saying, to instruct one prince and preserve another. —*Plutarch's life of Solon.*

of the multitude to extinguish the flames, which seemed likely to be ineffectual, implored the assistance of Apollo, entreating, that if he had ever made him any acceptable offering, he would now interpose and deliver him from the impending danger. When Crœsus with tears had thus invoked the god, the sky, which before was serene and tranquil, suddenly became dark and gloomy, a violent storm of rain succeeded, and the fire of the pile was extinguished. This event satisfied Cyrus that Crœsus was both a good man in himself, and a favorite of Heaven: causing him to be taken down from the pile—'Crœsus,' said he, addressing him, 'what could induce you to invade my territories, and become my enemy rather than my friend?' 'O king!' replied Crœsus, 'it was the prevalence of your good and of my evil fortune which prompted my attempt. I attacked your dominions, impelled and deluded by the deity of the Greeks. No one can be so infatuated as not to prefer tranquillity to war. In peace children inter their parents; war violates the order of nature, and causes parents to inter their children. It must have pleased the gods that these things should so happen.'

LXXXVIII. Cyrus immediately ordered him to be unbound, placed him near his person, and treated him with great respect; indeed he excited the admiration of all who were present. After an interval of silent meditation, Crœsus observed the Persians engaged in the plunder of the city. 'Does it become me, Cyrus,' said he, 'to continue silent on this occasion, or to speak the sentiments of my heart?' Cyrus entreated him to speak without apprehension or reserve. 'About what,' he returned, 'is that multitude so eagerly employed?' 'They are plundering your city,' replied Cyrus, 'and possessing themselves of your wealth.'

'No,' answered Crœsus, 'they do not plunder my city, nor possess themselves of my wealth; I have no concern with either; it is your property which they are thus destroying.'

LXXXIX. These words disturbed Cyrus; desiring therefore those who were present to withdraw, he asked Crœsus what measures he would recommend in the present emergence. 'The gods,' answered Crœsus, 'have made me your captive, and you are therefore justly intitled to the benefit of my reflections. Nature has made the Persians haughty, but poor. If you permit them to indulge without restraint this spirit of devastation, by which they may become rich, it is probable that your acquiescence may thus foster a spirit of rebellion against yourself. I would recommend the following mode to be adopted, if agreeable to your wisdom: station some of your guards at each of the gates; let it be their business to stop the plunderers with their booty, and bid them assign as a reason that one-tenth part must be consecrated to Jupiter. Thus you will not incur their enmity by any seeming violence of conduct; they will even accede without reluctance to your views, under the impression of your being actuated by a sense of duty.'

XC. Cyrus was delighted with the advice, and immediately adopted it: he stationed guards in the manner recommended by Crœsus, whom he soon after thus addressed: 'Crœsus, your conduct and your words mark a princely character, I desire you therefore to request of me whatever you please, and your wish shall be instantly gratified.' 'Sir,' replied Crœsus, 'you will materially oblige me by your permission to send these fetters to the god of Greece, *whom, above* all others, I have honored; and to *inquire of him* whether it be his rule to delude those

who have claims on his kindness.' When Cyrus expressed a wish to know the occasion of this implied reproach, Crœsus ingenuously explained each particular of his conduct, the oracles he had received, and the gifts he had presented, declaring that these induced him to make war on the Persians. He finished his narrative with again soliciting permission to send and reproach the divinity which had deceived him. Cyrus smiled: 'I will not only grant this,' said he, 'but whatever else you shall require.' Crœsus accordingly despatched some Lydians to Delphi, who were commissioned to place his fetters on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the deity were not ashamed at having by his oracles induced Crœsus to make war on Persia, with the expectation of overturning the empire of Cyrus, of which war these chains were the first fruits; and they were farther to inquire if the gods of Greece were usually ungrateful.

XCI. The Lydians proceeded on their journey, and executed their commission: they are said to have received the following reply from the Pythian priestess: 'That to avoid the determination of destiny was impossible even for a divinity: that Crœsus in his person expiated the crimes of his ancestor in the fifth descent;[1] who, being a guardsman of the Heraclidæ,

1 'Such, you say, is the power of the gods, that if death shall deliver an individual from the punishment due to his crimes, vengeance shall still be satisfied on his children, his grandchildren, or some of his posterity. Wonderful as may be the equity of Providence, will any city suffer a law to be introduced, which shall punish a son or a grandson for the crimes of his father or his grandfather?' *Cicero de Natura Deorum.*—*On the above* Larcher remarks that Cicero speaks *like a wise, Herodotus* like a superstitious, man. It is true *that it is the divinity* who speaks; but it is the historian who *makes him, and who* approves of what he says.

Crœsus was the fifth descendant of Gyges. The genealogy

was seduced by the artifice of a woman to assassinate his master, and without the remotest pretensions succeeded to his dignities: that Apollo was desirous to have this destruction of Sardis fall on the descendants of Crœsus, but was unable to counteract the decrees of fate: that he had really obviated them as far as was possible; and, to show his partiality to Crœsus,[1] had caused the ruin of Sardis to be deferred for the space of three years: that of this Crœsus might be assured, that if the will of the fates had been punctually fulfilled, he would have been three years sooner a captive: neither ought he to forget, that when in danger of being consumed by fire, Apollo had afforded him his succor: that with respect to the declaration of the oracle, Crœsus was not justified in his complaints; for Apollo had declared, that if he made war against the Persians, a mighty empire would be overthrown; the real purport of which communication, if he had been anxious to understand, it became him to have inquired whether the god alluded to his empire, or the empire of Cyrus; but that not understanding the reply which had been made, nor condescending to

was this: Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes, Crœsus.—*T.*

1 In the remoter ages of ignorance and superstition, the divinities, or their symbols, did not always experience from their worshippers the same uniform veneration. When things succeeded contrary to their wishes or their prayers, they sometimes changed their gods, sometimes beat them, and often reproached them. So that it seems difficult to account for those qualities of the human mind, which acknowleging the inclination to hear petitions, with the power to grant them, at one time expressed themselves in the most abject and unmanly superstition, at another indulged resentments equally preposterous and unnatural. To a mind but the least enlightened, the very circumstance of a deity's apologising to a fallen mortal for his predictions and their effects, seems to have but little tendency to excite in future an awe of his power, a reverence for his wisdom, or a confidence in his justice.—*T.*

make a second inquiry, he had been himself the cause of his own misfortune: that he had not at all comprehended the last answer of the oracle, which related to the mule; for that this mule was Cyrus, who was born of two parents of two different nations, of whom the mother was as noble as the father was mean; his mother was a Mede, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes; his father was a Persian, and tributary to the Medes, who, although a man of the very meanest rank, had married a princess, who was his mistress.' —This answer of the Pythian the Lydians on their return communicated to Crœsus. Crœsus having heard it, exculpated the deity, and acknowleged himself to be reprehensible. Such however was the termination of the empire of Crœsus, and this the recital of the first conquest of Ionia.

XCII. Besides the sacred offerings of Crœsus which we have before enumerated, many others are extant in Greece. In the Bœotian Thebes there is a golden tripod,[1] consecrated by him to the Ismenian Apollo:[2] there are also at Ephesus[3] some golden heifers, and a

1 We must not confound the tripods of the ancients with the utensils known by us at present under a similar name (in French *trepieds* corresponding with the kitchen utensil called in English *footman*). The tripod was a vessel standing on three feet, of which there were two kinds: the one was appropriated to festivals, and contained wine mixed with water; the others were placed on the fire, in which water was made warm.—*Larcher*.

2 Ismenus was a river in Bœotia, not far from Aulis. Ismenius was synonymous with Thebanus, and therefore the Ismenian Apollo is the same with the Theban Apollo.—*T.*

3 Pocock says that the place now called Aiesalouk is ancient Ephesus. Chandler says otherwise.

The two cities of Ephesus and Smyrna have been termed the eyes of *Asia Minor*: they were distant from each other *three hundred and* twenty stadia, or forty miles, in a straight *line.—T.*

number of columns. He gave also to the Pronean Minerva a large golden shield, which is still to be seen at Delphi. All the above remained within my remembrance; many others have been lost. He presented also, as it appears, to the Milesian Branchidæ gifts equal in weight and value to what he sent to Delphi. The presents which he made to Delphi, as well as those which he sent to Amphiaraus, were given for sacred purposes, from his own private or hereditary possessions. His other donations were formerly the property of an adversary, who had shown himself hostile to Crœsus before he succeeded to the throne, attaching himself to Pantaleon,[1] and favoring his views on the imperial dignity. Pantaleon was also the son of Alyattes, and brother of Crœsus, but not by the same mother: Alyattes had Crœsus by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian wife. But when, agreeably to the will of his father, Crœsus took possession of the throne, he destroyed, in a fuller's mill, this man, who had opposed him: his wealth he distributed in the manner we have before related, in compliance with a vow which he had formerly made. Such is the history of the offerings of Crœsus.

XCIII. If we except the gold-dust which descends from Mount Tmolus,[2] Lydia can exhibit no curiosity

1 When Crœsus mounted the Lydian throne he divided the kingdom with his brother. A Lydian remarked to him that the sun obtains to mankind all the comforts which the earth produces, and that, deprived of its influence, it would cease to be fruitful. But if there were two suns, it were to be feared that every thing would be scorched and perish. For this reason the Lydians have but one king; him they regard as their protector, but they will not allow of two.—*Stobæus.*

2 The country about Mount Tmolus, which comprehended the plain watered by the Hermus, was always remarkable for its fertility and beauty; and whoever will be at the pains to consult Chandler's Travels will find that it has lost but little of its ancient claims to admiration.—T.

which may vie with those of other countries. It boasts however of one monument of art, second to none but those of the Egyptians and Babylonians. It is the sepulchre of Alyattes,[1] father of Crœsus. The groundwork is composed of immense stones; the rest of the structure is a huge mound of earth. The edifice was raised by men of mean and mercenary occupations, assisted by young women. On the summit of this monument there remained, within my remembrance, five termini, on which were inscriptions to ascertain the performance of each, and to intimate that the women accomplished the greater part of the work. All the young women of Lydia sell themselves, by which they procure their marriage-portion; this they afterwards dispose of as they think proper. The circumference of the tomb is six furlongs and two plethra, the breadth thirteen plethra; it is terminated by a large piece of water, which the Lydians affirm to be inexhaustible, and is called the Gygean lake.[2]

XCIV. The manners and customs of the Lydians do not essentially vary from those of Greece, except in this sale of the young women. They are the first people on record who coined gold and silver[3] into money, and traded in retail. They claim also the invention of certain games, which have since been practised among the Grecians, and which, as they say,

1 The remains of this barrow are still conspicuous within five miles of Sardis, now called Sart. The industrious Dr. Chandler informs us that the mould which has been washed down conceals the basement; but that and a considerable treasure might be discovered, if the barrow were opened.—*See Chandler's Travels.*

2 Still remains.—*T.*

3 Who were really the first people that coined gold money, is a question *not to be decided.* According to some, it was *Phidon, king of Argos;* according to others, Demodice, the *wife of Midas.—Larcher.*

were first discovered at the time of their sending a colony into Tyrrhenia. The particulars are thus related:—In the reign of Atys, the son of Menes, all Lydia was reduced to the severest extremity by a scarcity of corn. Against this they contended for a considerable time by patient and unremitted industry. This not proving effectual, they sought other resources, each one exerting his own genius. On this occasion they invented bowls, and dice, with many other games: of chess however the Lydians do not claim the discovery. These they applied as an alternative against the effects of the famine.[1] One day they gave themselves so totally to their diversions as to abstain intirely from food: on the next they refrained from their games, and took their necessary repasts. They lived thus for the space of eighteen years: but when their calamity remitted nothing of its violence, but rather increased, the king divided the whole nation by lot into two parts, one of which was to continue at home, the other to migrate elsewhere. They who stayed behind retained their ancient king; the emigrants placed themselves under the conduct of his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus. These leaving their country, as had been determined, went to Smyrna, where building themselves vessels for the purpose of transplanting their property and their goods, they removed in search of another residence. After visiting different nations, they arrived at length in Umbria. Here they constructed cities, and have continued to the pre-

1 That the Lydians may have been the inventors of games is very probable; that under the pressure of famine, they might detach half their nation to seek their fortune elsewhere, is not unlikely; but that to soften their miserable *situation, and to get rid of the sensations of hunger, they should eat only* every other day, and that for the space of *eighteen years,* appears perfectly absurd.—Larcher.

sent period, changing their ancient appellation of Lydians, for that of Tyrrhenians,[1] after the son of their former sovereign.

XCV. We have before related how these Lydians were reduced under the dominion of Persia. It now becomes necessary for us to explain who this Cyrus, the conqueror of Crœsus, was, and by what means the Persians obtained the empire of Asia. I shall follow the authority of those Persians who seem more influenced by a regard to truth, than any partiality to Cyrus; not ignorant however that there are three other narratives[2] of this monarch.—The Assyrians had been in possession of Upper Asia for a period of five hundred and twenty years. The Medes first of all revolted from their authority, and contended with such obstinate bravery against their masters, that they were ultimately successful, and exchanged servitude for freedom. Other nations soon followed their example, who, after living for a time under the protection of their own laws, were again deprived of their freedom on the following occasion.

XCVI. There was a man among the Medes, of the name of Deioces, of great reputation for his wisdom,

1 It was these Tyrrhenians, or Etruscans, who taught the Romans their games and combats, in which they excelled, especially in racing with chariots. For the same reason, most of the great number of Etruscan monuments found in Italy relate to sport and games; which confirms what authors say of the Lydians, and of the Etruscans who are sprung from them.—*Montfaucon.*

2 Ctesias, in the fragments of his Persian history, preserved by Photius, differs from Herodotus in his account of the origin and exploits of Cyrus. What Xenophon relates in his Cyropædia is familiar to every one. Æschylus, an author of great antiquity, who fought at Marathon against the troops of Darius, and who was also in the battles of Salamis and Platea, has in his tragedy intitled the Persians followed a different tradition from them all.—Larcher.

whose ambitious views were thus disguised and exercised:—The Medes were divided into different districts, and Deioces was distinguished in his own by his vigilant and impartial distribution of justice. This he practised in opposition to the general depravity and weakness of the government of his country, and not unconscious that the profligate and the just must ever be at war with each other. The Medes who lived nearest him, to signify their approbation of his integrity, made him their judge. In this situation, having one more elevated in view, he conducted himself with the most rigid equity. His behavior obtained the highest applause of his countrymen; and his fame extending to the neighboring districts, the people contrasted his just and equitable decisions with the irregularity of their own corrupt rulers, and unanimously resorted to his tribunal, not suffering any one else to determine their litigations.

XCVII. The increasing fame of his integrity and wisdom constantly augmented the number of those who came to consult him. But when Deioces saw the pre-eminence which he was so universally allowed, he appeared no more on his accustomed tribunal, and declared that he should sit as a judge no longer; intimating that it was inconsistent for him to regulate the affairs of others, to the intire neglect and injury of his own. After this, as violence and rapine prevailed more than ever in the different districts of the Medes, they called a public assembly to deliberate on national affairs. As far as I have been able to collect, they who were attached to Deioces delivered sentiments to this effect:—'Our present situation is really intolerable; let us therefore elect a king, that we may have the advantage of a regular government, and continue our usual occupations, without any fear or danger of mo-

lestation.' In conformity to these sentiments, the Medes determined to have a king.

XCVIII. After some consultation about what person they should choose, Deioces was proposed and elected with universal praise. On his elevation he required a palace to be erected for him suitable to his dignity, and to have guards appointed for the security of his person. The Medes, in compliance with his request, built him a strong and magnificent edifice [1] in a situation which he himself chose, and suffered him to appoint his guards from among the whole nation. Deioces, as soon as he possessed the supreme authority, obliged the Medes to build a city, which, with respect to its ornament and strength, was to have a pre-eminence above all the rest. They obeyed him in this also, and constructed what we now call Ecbatana. Its walls were strong and ample, built in circles one within another, rising each above each by the height of their respective battlements. This mode of building was favored by the situation of the place, which was a gently rising ground. They did yet more: the city being thus formed of seven circles, within the last stood the king's palace and the royal treasury. The largest of these walls is nearly equal in extent to the circumference of Athens; this is of a white color, the next to it is black, the next purple, the fourth blue, the fifth orange: thus the battlements of each were distinguished by a different color. The two innermost walls are differently ornamented, one having its battlements plated with silver, the other with gold.

1 This palace was at the foot of the citadel, and about seven furlongs in circumference. The wood work was of cedar or *cypress wood: the* beams, the ceilings, the columns *of the porticos, and the* peristyles, were plated with either *gold or silver; the roofs* were covered with silver tiles. The *whole was plundered* about the time of Alexander.—Larcher.

XCIX. Such were the fortifications and the palace which were erected under the direction of Deioces, who commanded the body of the people to fix their habitations beyond the walls which protected his residence. After which he was the first who instituted that kind of pomp which forbids access to the royal person, and only admits communication with him by intermediate agents, the king himself being never publicly seen. His edict also signified that to smile or to spit in the king's presence, or in the presence of each other, was an act of indecency. His motive for this conduct was the security of his power; thinking, that if he were seen familiarly by those who were educated with him, born with equal pretensions, and not his inferiors in virtue, it might excite their regret and provoke them to sedition. On the contrary, by his withdrawing himself from observation, he thought their respect for him would be increased.

C. When Deioces had taken these measures to increase the splendor of his situation and the security of his power, he became extremely rigorous in his administration of justice. They who had causes to determine sent them to him in writing, by his official servants, which, with the decisions on each, he regularly returned. This was the form which he observed in judiciary matters. His proceeding with regard to penal offences was thus: Whenever he heard of any injury being perpetrated, and for this purpose he appointed spies and informers in different parts of his dominions, the offender was first brought to his presence, and then punished according to his offence.

CI. Deioces thus collected the Medes into one *nation, over* which he ruled: they consisted of the *Busæ, the* Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, *the Budii,* and the Magi.

CII. Deioces reigned fifty-three years, and at his decease his son Phraortes succeeded to the throne. Not satisfied with his hereditary dominions, he singled out the Persians as the objects of his ambitious views, and reduced them first of all under the dominion of the Medes. Supreme of these two great and powerful nations, he overran Asia, alternately subduing the people of whom it was composed. He came at length to the Assyrians, and proceeded to attack that part of them which inhabited Nineveh.[1] These were formerly the first power in Asia: their allies at this period had separated from them; but they were still, with regard to their internal strength, respectable. In the twenty-second year of his reign Phraortes,[2] in an excursion against this people, perished, with the greater part of his army.

CIII. He was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, grandson of Deioces. He is reported to have been superior to his ancestors in valor, and was the first who regularly trained the Asiatics to military service, dividing them who had before been promiscuously confounded, into companies of spearmen, cavalry, and archers. He it was who was carrying on war with the Lydians when the engagement which happened in the day was suddenly interrupted by nocturnal darkness. Having formed an amicable connexion with the different nations of Asia beyond the Halys, he proceeded with all his forces to the attack of Nineveh, being equally desirous of avenging his father, and becoming master of the city. He vanquished the Assyrians in battle; but when he was engaged in the siege of Nineveh he was surprised by an army of Scythians,

1 *Supposed to be the* modern Mousul.—Pococke.

2 *According to* Herodotus, the reign of Deioces was 53 *years, of Phraortes 22,* of Cyaxares 12, of the Scythians 28, *of Astyages 35;—total* 150 years.

commanded by Madyas, son of Protothyas. Having expelled the Cimmerians from Europe, the Scythians had found their way into Asia, and, continuing to pursue the fugitives, had arrived at the territories of the Medes.

CIV. From the lake Mœotis an expeditious traveller may pass to the river Phasis, amongst the Colchians, in the space of thirty days: it requires less time to pass from Colchis into Media, which are only separated by the nation of the Saspirians. The Scythians however did not come by this way, but, leaving Mount Caucasus on their right, passed through the high country by a much longer route. Here they met with the Medes, who, in a fixed battle, lost not only the victory, but the empire of Asia.

CV. The Scythians having obtained the intire possession of Asia, advanced towards Egypt. Psammitichus, king of Egypt, met them in Palestine of Syria, and, by presents and importunity united, prevailed on them to return. The Scythians, on their march homewards, came to Ascalon, a Syrian city: the greate part of their body passed through without molestir it; but some of them remaining behind, plundered t temple of the celestial Venus. Of all the sacr buildings erected to this goddess, this, according my authorities, was far the most ancient. The (prians themselves acknowlege that their temple built after the model of this, and that of Cythera constructed by certain Phœnicians, who came f this part of Syria. On the Scythians who plund this temple, and indeed on all their posterity deity entailed a fatal punishment: they were aff with the female disease.[1] The Scythians them confess that their countrymen suffer this mala

1 The catamenia; or nervous disorders.

consequence of the above crime: their condition also may be seen by those who visit Scythia, where they are called Enareæ.

CVI. After possessing the dominion of Asia for a space of twenty-eight years, the Scythians lost all they had obtained by their licentiousness and neglect. The extravagance of their public extortions could only be equalled by the rapacity with which they plundered individuals. At a feast to which they were invited by Cyaxares and the Medes, the greater part of them were cut off when in a state of intoxication. The Medes thus recovered their possessions, and all their ancient importance; after which they took Nineveh; the particulars of which incident I shall hereafter relate. They moreover subdued the Assyrians, those only excepted which inhabited the Babylonian district. Cyaxares reigned forty years, and then died; but in this period is to be included the time in which the Scythians possessed the empire.

CVII. His son Astyages succeeded to the throne: he had a daughter whom he called Mandane; she, in a dream, seemed to produce so great a quantity of water, that not only his principal city, but all Asia was overflowed. The purport of this vision, when explained in each particular by the magi, the usual interpreters, terrified him exceedingly. Under this impression, he refused to marry his daughter, when she arrived at a suitable age, to any Mede whose rank justified pretensions to her. He chose rather to give her to Cambyses, a Persian, whom he selected as being of a respectable family, but of a very pacific disposition, though inferior in his estimation to the lowest of the Medes.

CVIII. The first year after the marriage of his daughter *Astyages saw* another vision. A vine appeared *to spring from* his daughter, which overspread

all Asia. On this occasion also he consulted his interpreters: the result was, that he sent for his daughter from Persia, when the time of her delivery approached. On her arrival he kept a strict watch over her, intending to destroy her child. The magi had declared the vision to intimate that the child of his daughter should supplant him on his throne. Astyages, to guard against this, as soon as Cyrus was born sent for Harpagus, a person whose intimacy he used, on whose confidence he depended, and who indeed had the management of all his affairs. He addressed him as follows: 'Harpagus, I am about to use you in a business in which if you either abuse my confidence or employ others to do what I am anxious you should do yourself, you will infallibly lament the consequence. You must take the boy of whom Mandane has been delivered, remove him to your own house, and put him to death: you will afterwards bury him as you shall think proper.' 'Sir,' he replied, 'you have hitherto never had occasion to censure my conduct; neither shall my future behavior give you cause of offence: if the accomplishment of this matter be essential to your peace, it becomes me to be faithful and obedient.'

CIX. On this reply of Harpagus the infant was delivered to his arms in rich apparel, and consigned to destruction. Returning home, he sought with tears the presence of his wife, to whom he related his conference with Astyages. When she inquired what it was his intention to do; 'By no means,' he answered, 'the deed which Astyages enjoins. If he become still more infatuated, more mad than he at present appears, I will not comply with his desires, nor be accessary to this murder. The child is my relation: Astyages is old, and has no male offspring: if, at his

decease, the sovereign authority shall descend to this daughter, whose child he orders me to destroy, what extreme danger shall I not incur? It is expedient nevertheless, for my security, that the child should die, not however by the hands of any of my family, but by some other of his servants.'

CX. He instantly sent for a herdsman belonging to Astyages, who, as he knew, pursued his occupation in a place adapted to the purpose, amongst mountains frequented by savage beasts. His name was Mitridates; his wife and fellow-servant was, in the Greek tongue, called Cyno, by the Medes Spaco;[1] and Spaca is the name by which the Medes call a bitch. The place which he frequented with his herds was the foot of those mountains which lie to the north of Ecbatana, near the Euxine. This part of Media, towards the Saspires, is high and mountainous, and abounding with forests; the rest of the country is a spacious plain. As soon as he arrived in his presence, Harpagus thus addressed him: 'Astyages commands you to take this infant,[2] and expose him in the most unfrequented part of the mountains, that his death may be speedy and unavoidable. I am farther ordered

1 It is not certain whether the dialect of the Medes and Persians was the same. In such remains as we have of the Persian language, Burton and Reland have not been able to discover any term like this. Nevertheless Lefevre assures us that the Hyrcanians, a people in subjection to the Persians, call, even at the present time, a dog by the word Spac.—*Larcher.*

2 Various passages in this part of our work will necessarily bring to the mind of the reader the Winter's Tale of Shakspeare. The speech of the king to Antigonus minutely resembles this:

Take *it* up straight.
Within this hour bring me word 'tis done,
And by good testimony, or I'll seize thy life, &c.—T.

to assure you, that if you evade this injunction, and are by any means accessary to his preservation, you must expect torture and death. I am myself commanded to see the child exposed.'

CXI. When the herdsman had received his orders, he took the child, and returned to his cottage. His wife, who had been in labor all the preceding part of the day, was providentially delivered in his absence. Both had been in a state of solicitude: the situation of his wife gave alarm to the husband; and the woman, on her part, feared for him, from the unusual circumstance of his being sent for to Harpagus. His return was sudden and unexpected, and his wife discovered much anxiety to know why Harpagus had sent for him in such haste. 'As soon,' said he, 'as I got into the city, I both saw and heard what I could wish had never befallen the families of our masters: I found the house of Harpagus in extreme affliction; entering which with the greatest terror, I saw an infant panting and screaming on the ground, dressed in rich and splendid clothing. Harpagus, the moment he saw me, commanded me to take the child, and without any hesitation expose it on such part of our mountains as is most frequented by wild beasts; telling me, moreover, that Astyages himself had assigned this office to me, and threatening the severest punishment in case of disobedience. I took the child, conceiving it to belong to one of the domestics, never supposing who it really was. The richness, however, of its dress excited my astonishment, which was increased by the sorrow that prevailed in the family of Harpagus. But on my return, the servant who, conducting me out of the city, gave the infant to my hand, explained each particular circumstance. He informed me that it is the offspring of Mandane, the daughter of

Astyages, and of Cambyses, son of Cyrus. This is the infant whose death Astyages commands.'

CXII. The herdsman finished, and produced the child to his wife. Struck with his appearance of beauty and of strength, she embraced the knees of her husband, and conjured him not to expose the child. He observed, that it was impossible to comply with her request, as Harpagus would send to see that his orders were executed, and had menaced him with a most cruel death if he failed in his obedience. The woman not succeeding by this, took another method. 'Since,' she replied, 'you are determined in your purpose, and there will be witnesses to see that the child is in reality exposed, attend to what I propose: I have been delivered of a dead child: let this be exposed, and let us preserve and bring up the grandchild of Astyages as our own. You will thus appear faithful to your superiors, without any injury to ourselves; the child which is dead will be honored with a sumptuous funeral, and that which survives will be preserved.'

CXIII. The man approved of the pertinent proposal of his wife, with which he immediately complied. The infant whom he was to have destroyed he gave to the care of his wife: his own child, which was dead, he placed in the cradle in which the other had been brought, dressed it in the other's costly clothing, and exposed it on a desert mountain. After three days he left one of his domestics to guard the body, and went again to the house of Harpagus in the city, signifying himself ready to show that the child was dead. Harpagus sent some on whose fidelity he could depend to examine into the matter: they confirmed the report of the herdsman, and the child was buried. The herdsman's child was thus interred; the other, who

was afterwards called Cyrus, was brought up carefully by the wife of the herdsman, and called by some other name.

CXIV. When he arrived at the age of ten years the following accident discovered who he was:—He was playing in the village, where were the herds of his supposed father, with other boys of the same age with himself. Though reputed to be the son of the herdsman, his playmates chose him for their king. He, in consequence, assigned them their different stations: some were to superintend buildings, others were to be guards; one was to be his principal minister, another his master of the ceremonies; and each had his particular office. Among these children happened to be the son of Artembaris, who was a Mede of considerable distinction. He, refusing to obey the commands of Cyrus, was, at his orders, seized by his playfellows, and severely beaten. The pride of the boy was vehemently offended; and the moment he was at liberty he hastened to the city to inform his father how much he had suffered from the insolence of Cyrus. He did not indeed call him Cyrus, which was not then his name; but he described him as the son of the herdsman of Astyages. Artembaris went immediately in great rage to Astyages, taking his son with him. He complained of the indignity which had been offered, and showed what marks of violence his son had received. 'Thus, sir,' said he, 'have we been insulted by the son of a herdsman, your slave.'

CXV. Astyages, on receiving this complaint, which he observed to be justly founded, was anxious to punish the insult which Artembaris had received; he accordingly sent for the herdsman and his reputed child. On their appearance, Astyages, looking

Cyrus, 'Do you,' said he, 'meanly descended as you are, dare to inflict stripes on the son of one of my nobles?' 'My lord,' said he, in reply, 'what I have done I am able to justify; the boys among whom I live, and this with the rest, did, in play, elect me their king, because, as I suppose, I seemed to them the most proper for this situation. Our other playfellows obeyed my commands; this boy refused, and was punished: if on this account you deem me worthy of chastisement, I am here to receive it.'[1]

CXVI. As soon as the boy had spoken, Astyages conjectured who he was; every thing concurred to confirm his suspicions; his resemblance of himself; his ingenuous countenance and manners, and the seeming correspondence of his age. Struck by the force of these incidents, Astyages was a long time silent. He recovered himself with difficulty, and wishing to dismiss Artembaris, for the purpose of examining the herdsman without witnesses, 'Artembaris,' said he, 'I will take care that neither you nor your son shall have just reason of complaint.' When Artembaris retired Cyrus was conducted by attendants into some inner room, and the herdsman being left alone with the king, was strictly interrogated whence and from whom he had the child. He replied, that he was his own child, and that his mother was yet alive: Astyages told him that his indiscretion would only involve him in great dangers. Saying this, he ordered his guards to seize him. Reduced to this extremity, he explained every particular of the

1 None of these particulars of the early life of Cyrus, *previous to his being* sent to his parents in Persia, are re*lated by Xenophon.—T.*

Astyages inquired if he knew of what flesh and of what wild beast he had eaten, he acknowleged that he did, and that the king's will was always pleasing to him.[1] Saying this, he took the remnants of the body and returned to his house, meaning, as I suppose, to bury them together.

CXX. Astyages thus revenged himself on Harpagus; but deliberating about the destiny of Cyrus, he sent for the magi who had before interpreted his dreams. On their appearance, he requested to know their sentiments of the vision he had formerly explained to them. They persevered in their former declaration, that if the boy survived he would infallibly be king. 'The boy is alive and well,' returned Astyages: 'the children of the village where he lived elected him their king, and he has actually performed all the essential duties of the regal office. He appointed his guards, his messengers, and different attendants, and in all respects exercised kingly authority: concerning this, what do you determine?' 'If,' answered the magi, 'the boy really survives, and has reigned as a monarch, in the accidental manner you describe, rely on this, and dissipate your fears; depend on it he will reign no more: things of trifling moment frequently accomplish what we seriously foretell, and dreams in particular will often prove of little

1 This reply of Harpagus, worthy of a servile courtier, brings to mind one of an English nobleman no less despicable. Edgar, king of England, having killed Ethelwold in the forest of Harewood, the son of that nobleman arrived soon afterwards on the spot; the king, showing him the body of his father, asked him how he found the game? The young man replied with perfect indifference, 'That whatever was agreeable to the prince could not possibly displease him.' *The above* anecdote is related by Larcher from William of *Malmsbury.*

or no importance.'—'I confess,' replied Astyages, 'that I am of the same opinion; the boy having been nominally a king, has fulfilled the purport of my dream, and I need alarm myself no more about him. Do not you, however, remit your assiduity, but consult both for my security and your own.'—'Sir,' answered the magi, 'it is of particular importance to us that your authority should continue; it might otherwise descend to this boy, who is a Persian: in that case we, who are Medes, shall be reduced to servitude; the Persians would despise us as foreigners; but whilst you, who are our countryman, reign over us, we enjoy some degree of authority ourselves, independent of the honors we receive from you: for these reasons we are particularly bound to consult for your safety and the permanence of your power. If any thing excited our apprehension of the future, we would certainly disclose it: but as your dream has had this trifling termination, we feel great confidence ourselves, and recommend you to send the child from your presence to his parents in Persia.'

CXXI. On hearing this Astyages was rejoiced; and sending for Cyrus—'My child,' said he, 'I was formerly induced, by the cruel representation of a dream, to treat you injuriously; but your better genius preserved you. Go therefore in peace to Persia, whither I shall send proper persons to conduct you; there you will see your parents, who are of a very different rank from the herdsman Mitridates and his wife.'

CXXII. Astyages having thus spoken, sent Cyrus away: on his being restored to the house of his parents, they, who had long since thought him dead, received him with *tenderness and* transport. They inquired by *what means he had* been preserved: he told them in

reply, that he was intirely ignorant of his birth, and had been involved in much perplexity; but that every thing had been explained to him on his journey to them. He had really believed himself the son of the herdsman of Astyages before his conductors explained to him the particulars of his fortune. He related with what tenderness he had been brought up by the wife of the herdsman, whose name, Cyno, he often repeated with the warmest praise. The circumstance of her name his parents laid hold of to persuade the Persians that Providence had, in a particular manner, interposed to save Cyrus, who, when exposed, had been preserved and nourished by a bitch; which opinion afterwards prevailed.

CXXIII. As Cyrus grew up, he excelled all the young men in strength and gracefulness of person. Harpagus, who was anxious to be revenged on Astyages, was constantly endeavoring to gain an interest with him, by making him presents. In his own private situation he could have but little hope of obtaining the vengeance he desired; but seeing Cyrus a man, and one whose fortunes bore some resemblance to his own, he much attached himself to him. He had some time before taken the following measure:—Astyages having treated the Medes with great asperity, Harpagus took care to communicate with the men of the greatest consequence among them, endeavoring by his insinuations to promote the elevation of Cyrus, and the deposition of his master. Having thus prepared the way, he contrived the following method of acquainting Cyrus in Persia with his own private sentiments, and the state of affairs. The communication betwixt the two countries being strictly guarded, he took a hare, opened its paunch, in which he inserted a letter, containing the information he wished to give.

and then dexterously sewed it up again. The hare, with some hunting nets, he intrusted to one of his servants of the chase, on whom he could depend. The man was sent into Persia, and ordered to deliver the hare to Cyrus himself, who was entreated to open it with his own hands, and without witnesses.

CXXIV. The man executed his commission: Cyrus received the hare, which having opened as directed, he found a letter to the following purport: 'Son of Cambyses, Heaven evidently favors you, or you never could have risen thus superior to fortune. Astyages meditated your death, and is a just object of your vengeance; he certainly determined that you should perish; the gods and my humanity preserved you. With the incidents of your life I believe you are acquainted, as well as with the injuries which I have received from Astyages for delivering you to the herdsman, instead of putting you to death. Listen but to me, and the authority and dominions of Astyages shall be yours: having prevailed on the Persians to revolt, undertake an expedition against the Medes. If I shall be appointed by Astyages the leader of the forces which oppose you, our object will be instantly accomplished, which I may also venture to affirm of each of our first nobility; they are already favorable to your cause, and wait but the opportunity of revolting from Astyages. All things being thus prepared, execute what I advise without delay.'

CXXV. Cyrus, on receiving this intelligence, revolved in his mind what would be the most effectual means of prevailing on the Persians to revolt. After much deliberation, he determined on the following stratagem. He dictated the terms of a public letter, and called *an assembly of his* countrymen. Here it was produced *and read, and it* appeared to contain his appoint-

ment by Astyages to be general of the Persians: 'And now, O Persians!' he exclaimed, 'I must expect each of you to attend me with a hatchet.' This command he issued aloud to the Persians, of whom there are various tribes. Of those whom Cyrus assembled, and persuaded to revolt from the Medes, the following are the principal: the Arteatæ, the Persæ, Pasargadæ, Maraphii, and Maspians: of these, the Pasargadæ are the most considerable; the Achæmenidæ are those from whom the Persian monarchs are descended. The Panthialæi, Derusiæi, and Germanians,[1] follow laborious employments; the Dai, Mardi, Dropici, and Sargartians, are feeders of cattle.

CXXVI. They all assembled in the manner they were commanded, and Cyrus directed them to clear, in the space of a day, a certain woody inclosure, which was eighteen or twenty furlongs in extent. When they had executed their task, they were desired to attend the following day to feast and make merry: for this purpose Cyrus collected and slew all the goats, sheep, and oxen, which were the property of his father; and farther to promote the entertainment of the Persians, he added rich wines and abundance of delicacies. The next day, when they were met, he desired them to recline on the grass and enjoy themselves. When they were satisfied he inquired of them which day's fare delighted them the most: they replied, the contrast betwixt the two was strong indeed, as on the first day they had nothing but what was bad, on the second

1 The Germanians are the same as the Caramanians. Some authors affirm the ancient Germans to have been descended from this people. Cluvier has with much politeness explained their mistake. 'But,' adds M. Wesseling, 'there are some individuals of such wayward tempers, who, since the discovery of corn, still prefer the feeding on acorns.'—*Larcher.*

every thing that was good. On receiving this answer Cyrus no longer hesitated to explain the purpose which he had in view: 'Men of Persia!' he exclaimed, 'you are the arbiters of your own fortune; if you obey me, you will enjoy these and greater advantages, without any servile toils: if you are hostile to my projects, you must prepare to encounter worse hardships than those of yesterday. My voice is the voice of freedom; Providence appears to have reserved me to be the instrument of your prosperity: you are doubtless equal to the Medes in every thing, and most assuredly are as brave: this being the case, decline all future obedience to Astyages.'

CXXVII. The Persians, who had long spurned at the yoke imposed on them by the Medes, were glad of such a leader, and ardently obeyed the call of liberty. Astyages was soon informed of the proceedings of Cyrus, and commanded his attendance. He returned for answer that he should probably anticipate the wish of Astyages to see him. Astyages on this collected his Medes, and urged by some fatal impulse, appointed Harpagus to command his forces, not remembering the injury he formerly had done him. His army was embodied; the Medes met and engaged the Persians: they who were not privy to the plot fought with valor, the rest went over to the Persians: the greater part discovered no inclination to continue the combat, and hastily retreated.

CXXVIII. Astyages hearing of the ignominious defeat of his army, continued to menace Cyrus; and exclaimed, that he should still have no reason to exult. The first thing he did was to crucify the magi,[1] the

1 *It appears from the* sacred writings, that when the magi *either were not able to* interpret dreams or explain difficulties

interpreters of dreams, who had prevailed on him to send Cyrus away. He then armed all his citizens, young and old, without distinction. He led them against the Persians, and was vanquished: he himself was taken prisoner, and the greater part of his army destroyed.

CXXIX. In his captivity Harpagus was present to insult and reproach him. Among other things, he asked him what was his opinion of that supper, in which he had compelled a father to feed on the flesh of his child, a supper which had reduced him from a monarch to a slave. In reply, Astyages requested to know if he imputed to himself the success of Cyrus. He confessed that he did, explained the means, and justified his conduct. Astyages told him that he was then the most foolish and wicked of mankind;—most foolish, in acquiring for another the authority he might have enjoyed himself; most wicked, for reducing his countrymen to servitude, to gratify his private revenge. If he thought a change in the government really necessary, and was still determined not to assume the supreme authority himself, justice should have induced him to have elevated a Mede to that honor rather than a Persian. The Medes, who were certainly not accessary to the provocation given, had exchanged situations with their servants; the Persians, who were formerly the servants, were now the masters.

CXXX. After a reign of thirty-five years, Astyages was thus deposed. To his asperity of temper the Medes owed the loss of their power, after possessing, for the space of one hundred and twenty-eight

to the satisfaction of their tyrant masters, they were with *little compunction* condemned to die. See in particular the *book of Daniel*. The cruelty of Astyages is spoken of by *Diodorus Siculus*, in his book De Virtutibus et Vitiis.—T.

years, all that part of Asia which lies beyond the Halys, deducting from this period the short interval of the Scythian dominion. In succeeding times, from a disdain of their abased situation, they took up arms against Darius: their attempt proved unsuccessful, and they were a second time reduced to servitude. From this period the Persians, who, under the conduct of Cyrus, had shaken off the power of the Medes, remained in undisturbed possession of Asia. Cyrus detained Astyages in captivity for the remainder of his life, but in no other instance[1] treated him with severity.—Such is the history of the birth, education, and success of Cyrus. He afterwards, as we have before related, subdued Crœsus, who had attacked him unprovoked: from which time he remained without competition sovereign of Asia.

CXXXI. My attention to the subject has enabled me to make the following observations on the manners and customs of the Persians. They have among them neither statues,[2] temples, nor altars; the use of which they censure as impious, and a gross violation of reason, probably because, in opposition to the Greeks, they do not believe that the gods partake of our human nature. Their custom is to offer from the summits of

1 Isocrates, in his funeral oration on Evagoras, king of Salamis, in Cyprus, says that Cyrus put Astyages to death. I do not find that this fact has been asserted by any other author.—*Larcher.*

2 It is proper to remark here that the more ancient nations were not worshippers of images. Lucian tells us that the ancient Egyptians had no statues in their temples. According to Eusebius the Greeks were not worshippers of images before the time of Cecrops, who first of all erected a statue to Minerva. And Plutarch tells us that Numa forbade the Romans to represent the deity under the form of a man or an animal; and for seventy years this people had not in their temples any statue or painting of the deity.—Larcher.

the highest mountains[1] sacrifices to Jove, distinguishing by that appellation all the expanse of the firmament. They also adore the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds, which may be termed their original deities. In aftertimes, from the examples of the Assyrians and Arabians, they added Urania[2] to this number. The name of the Assyrian Venus is Mylitta, whom the Arabians call Alitta, and the Persians Mithra.

CXXXII. Their mode of paying their devotions to the above-mentioned deities, confirmed by undeviating custom, is to sacrifice to them without altars or fire libations or instrumental music, garlands or consecrated cakes; but every individual, as he wishes to sacrifice to any particular divinity, conducts his victim to a place made clean for the purpose, and makes his invocation or his prayers with a tiara enriched generally with myrtle. The supplicant is not permitted to implore blessings on himself alone; his whole nation, and particularly his sovereign, have a claim to his prayers, himself being necessarily comprehended with the rest. He proceeds to divide his victim into several minute parts, which, when boiled, he places on the most delicate verdure he can find, giving the preference to trefoil. When things are thus prepared, one of the magi, without whose presence no sacrifice is

1 Van Dale remarks that the oracular temples were for the most part situated in mountainous places. The Scriptures also intimate that mountains and high places were chosen as the properest theatres for the display of religious enthusiasm. See Deuteronomy, chap. xii. ver. 2, 3. 'Ye shall utterly destroy the places wherein the nations served their gods on the high mountains, and on the hills, and under every tree,' &c. &c.—T.

2 *That is,* the Uranian or celestial Venus, not the muse *Urania.—T.*

leemed lawful, stands up and chants the primeval origin of the gods, which they suppose to have a sacred and mysterious influence. The worshipper after his takes with him, for his own use, such parts of the lesh as he thinks proper.

CXXXIII. Among all their festivals each individual pays particular regard to his birthday, when they indulge themselves with better fare than usual. The more rich among them prepare on this day an ox, a horse, a camel, or an ass, which is roasted whole; the poorer sort are satisfied with a lamb or a sheep: they eat but sparingly of meat, but are fond of the after dishes, which are separately introduced. From hence the Persians take occasion to say that the Grecians do not leave their tables satisfied, having nothing good to induce them to continue there—if they had they would eat more. Of wine they drink profusely: but they may not vomit before any one; which customs they still observe. They are accustomed to deliberate on matters of the highest moment when warm with wine; but whatever they in this situation may determine is again proposed to them on the morrow, in their cooler moments, by the person in whose house they had before assembled. If at this time also it meet their approbation, it is executed, otherwise it is rejected. Whatever also they discuss when sober, is always a second time examined after they have been drinking.

CXXXIV. If they meet at any time by accident, the rank of each party is easily discovered: if they are of equal dignity, they salute each other on the mouth; if one is an inferior, they only kiss the cheek; if there be a great difference in situation, the inferior falls prostrate on the ground. They treat with most respect those who live nearest to them; as they be-

come more and more remote their esteem of each other diminishes; for those who live very distant from them they entertain not the smallest regard: esteeming themselves the most excellent of mankind, they think that the value of others must diminish in proportion to their distance. During the empire of the Medes there was a regular gradation of authority; the Medes governed all as well as their neighbors, but these also were superior to those contiguous to them, who again held the next nation in subjection; which example the Persians followed when their dominions became extended, and their authority increased.

CXXXV. The Persians are of all men most inclined to adopt foreign manners: thinking the dress of the Medes more becoming than their own, they wear it in preference. They use also, in their armies, the Egyptian breastplate; they discover an ardor for all pleasures of which they have heard; and each man has many wives, but many more concubines.

CXXXVI. Next to valor in the field, a man is esteemed in proportion to the number of his offspring; to him who has the greater number of children the king every year sends presents; their national strength depending, as they suppose, on their numbers. From their fifth to their twentieth year they instruct their children in three things only, the art of the bow, horsemanship,[1] and a strict regard to truth. Till his

1 This in the time of Cyrus did not constitute a part of Persian education. The Persians at that period inhabiting a country mountainous, and without pasturage, could not breed horses; but as soon as they had conquered a country suitable to this purpose, they learned the art of horsemanship; and Cyrus made it be considered as a disgraceful *thing that* any person to whom he had presented a horse *should go* any where on foot, even to the smallest distance.—*Larcher.*

fifth year a boy is kept in the female apartments, and not permitted to see his father: the motive of which is, that if the child die before this period, his death may give no uneasiness to the father.

CXXXVII. This custom appears commendable: I cannot but think highly of that custom also, which does not allow even the sovereign to put any one to death for a single offence; neither from any one provocation is a Persian permitted to exercise extreme severity in his family. Severity is there only lawful when, after careful examination, the offences are found to exceed the merits. They will not believe that any one ever killed his parent: when such accidents have apparently happened, they assert their belief that the child would, on inquiry, be found either to have been the produce of adultery, or spurious; conceiving it altogether impossible that any real parent can be killed by his own offspring.

CXXXVIII. Whatever they may not act with impunity, they cannot mention without guilt. They hold falsehood in the greatest abhorrence; next to which they esteem it disgraceful to be in debt, as well for other reasons, as for the temptations to falsehood, which they think it necessarily introduces. A leprous[1] Persian must neither enter the city, nor have communication with any of his countrymen; this disease they always think occasioned by some offence committed against the sun.[2]

1 See the Mosaical prohibition concerning lepers, Numbers, chap. v. ver. 4.—*T.*

2 When Æschines touched at Delos, on his way to Rhodes, the inhabitants of that island were greatly incommoded by a species of leprosy called the white leprosy. They imputed it to the *anger of Apollo,* because in contradiction to the *custom of the place* they had interred there the body of a man *of rank.—Larcher.*

If a foreigner is afflicted with it, he is tumult expelled the country. They have also, for the reason, an aversion to white pigeons. To all they pay extreme veneration;[1] they will neithe wash their hands, nor throw any filth in any of and a violation of this custom may not happen wi punity.

CXXXIX. They have one peculiarity, though they are not aware of it themselves, is rious to us; all those words which are expres personal or of any other distinction, terminate Doric san, which is the same with the Ionic and attentive observation will farther discover t the names of Persians end without exception al

CXL. The above remarks are delivered w hesitation, as being the result of my own p knowlege. They have other customs, conc which, as they are of a secret nature, I will n tend to express myself decisively: as to what to their dead, I will not affirm it to be true that never are interred till some bird or dog has disc a propensity to prey on them. This, however, questionably certain of the magi, who public serve this custom. The Persians first inclose th body in wax, and afterwards place it in the g Their magi are a distinct body of men, having peculiarities, which distinguish them from othe from the Egyptian priests in particular. The think it essential to their sanctity to destroy n mals but the victims of sacrifice. The magi ex

1 The ancient Cuthites, and the Persians after them great veneration for fountains and streams, which al vailed among other nations, so as to have been at o *almost universal*. If these rivers were attended w *nitrous or saline* quality, or with any fiery eruptio *were adjudged* to be still more sacred.—Bryant.

man and a dog, but put other animals without compunction to death. They even think it an action highly meritorious to destroy serpents, ants,[1] and the different species of reptiles.—After this digression I return to my former subject.

CXLI. The Ionians and Æolians, after the conquest of Lydia by the Persians, immediately despatched ambassadors to Sardis, requesting Cyrus to receive them under his allegiance, on the terms which Crœsus formerly had granted them. Cyrus gave them audience, and made the following reply: 'A certain piper, observing some fishes sporting in the sea, began to play to them, in hopes that they would voluntarily throw themselves on shore; disappointed in his expectations, he threw his nets, inclosed a great number, and brought them to land; seeing them leap about, 'You may be quiet now,' said he, 'as you refused to come out to me when I played to you.' Cyrus was induced to return this answer to the Ionians and Æolians, because the Ionians had formerly disregarded his solicitations to withdraw their assistance from Crœsus, refusing all submission to Cyrus, till they were compelled by necessity to make it. This reply therefore of Cyrus was evidently dictated by resentment; which, as soon as the Ionians had received, they fortified their towns, and assembled all of them at Panionium, except the Milesians: Cyrus had received these into his alliance on the conditions which they had formerly enjoyed from Crœsus. The general determination of the Ionians was to send ambassadors to Sparta, who were in their common name to supplicate assistance.

1 This, says Larcher, is a precept of the Sadder. The learned Dr. Hyde considers the Sadder as fragments of the works of *Zoroaster, the* great Persian legislator.

CXLII. These Ionians, who are members of the Panionium, enjoy beyond all whom I have known purity of air and beauty of situation; the country above and below them, as well as those parts which lie to the east and west, being in every respect less agreeable. Some of them are both cold and moist; others parched by the extremity of the heat. Their language possesses four several distinctions. Miletus[1] is their first city towards the south, next to which are Myus and Priene; all these are situate in Caria, and use the same language. In Lydia are the cities of Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæ, which have a dialect peculiar to themselves. There are three other cities properly called Ionian: two of these, Samos and Chios, are situated in islands; the other, Erythræ, is on the continent. The Chians and Erythræans speak alike; the Samian tongue is materially different. These are the four discriminations of language to which we alluded.

CXLIII. Of these Ionians, the Milesians were induced to court the friendship of Cyrus, from apprehensions of his power. The islanders had but little cause of fear, for the Persians had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, and were themselves ignorant of maritime affairs. The general imbecility of Greece, and the small importance of the Ionians in particular, were their motives for separating themselves from the body of that nation, of which they constituted a part; Athens, of all the Grecian cities, being the only one of any distinction. The appellation of Ionians was

1 For a particular account of the modern names and circumstances of these Ionian cities consult Chandler and Pococke.

Miletus was the birthplace of Thales, Clazomenæ of Anaxagoras, Ephesus of Parrhasius, Colophon of Xenophanes, Teos of Anacreon.—*T.*

s reason disdained by the Athenians, and some Ionians, which prejudice does not yet appear to iterated. In opposition to this, the above twelve are proud of the name, and have in consequence d a sacred edifice, which they call the Panio-[1] They determined to admit no other of the cities to this temple, and the privilege was d by those of Smyrna alone.

LIV. The Dorians now inhabiting Pentapolis, was formerly called Hexapolis, instituted a r exemption; not admitting the neighboring Do- nor indeed some of their own people, who had ed a sacred and established custom, to the temple iope.[2] The prize of these games, which were ated in honor of the Triopean Apollo, was for- a tripod of brass, which the victor was not ted to carry away,[3] but to leave as a votive ig in the temple of the deity. A man of Hali- ssus, whose name was Agasicles, having ob- the victory, in violation of this custom carried ipod to his own house, where it was openly sus-

bout sixteen miles to the south of Scala Nuova there is stian village called Changlee. It is supposed to be the t Panionium, where the meeting of the twelve cities of was held, and a solemn sacrifice performed to Neptune nius, in which the people of Priene presided.—*Po-*

iopium was a city of Caria, founded by Triopas, son of athon. Hence the Triopean promontory took its name, was a temple known under the name of the Triopean , consecrated to Apollo. The Dorians here celebrated in honor of that god, but without joining with him ne and the nymphs.

is temple was held a general assembly of the Dorians a, on the model of that of Thermopylæ.—*Larcher.*

the games in honor of Apollo and Bacchus the victor ot permitted to carry the prize away with him: it re- d in *the temple of the* deity, with an inscription signi- *he names of the* persons at whose cost the games were *ted, with that of* the victorious tribe.—Larcher.

pended. In punishment of this offence Halicar was excluded from the participation of their re ceremonies by the five cities of Lindus, Jalyssu mirus, Cos,[1] and Cnidus.[2]

CXLV. It appears to me that the Ionians d themselves into twelve states, and were unwill connect themselves with more, simply because loponnesus they were originally so circumstan are the Achæans at present, by whom the Ionian expelled. The first of these is Pellene near S then Ægira and Ægæ, through which the (flows with a never-failing stream, giving its na a well-known river of Italy. Next to these is then Helice, to which place the Ionians flec being vanquished in battle by the Achæans. follow Ægium,[3] Rhypæ, Patræ, Pharæ, and C

1 Cos was the birthplace of Hippocrates.—*T.*

2 Cnidus was celebrated for being the birthplace historian Ctesias, and of the astronomer Eudoxus, and so from being possessed of the beautiful Venus of teles.—*T.*

The medals struck at Cnidus in the times of the emperors represent, as may be presumed, the Venus o iteles. The goddess with her right hand conceals h with her left she holds some linen over a vessel of pe —*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*

It is not perhaps unworthy of remark, that the cel Venus de Medici conceals with her left hand the dist of her sex, whilst her right is elevated to her bosom.–

3 The inhabitants of this place having vanquish Ætolians in a naval fight, and taken from them a ve fifty oars, they made an offering of the tenth part to tl ple of Delphi, at the same time they demanded of t who were the bravest of the Greeks? The Pythian an thus: 'The best cavalry are those of Thessaly; the lo women are those of Sparta; they who drink the wate fair fountain of Arethusa are valiant; but the Argive *inhabit betwixt* Terinthus and Arcadia, abounding in *are more so.*—As for you, O Ægians! you are neit *third, nor the* fourth, nor even the twelfth; you in *respect, nor* are of the smallest importance.'—Larch

which is watered by Pirus, a considerable river. The last are Dyme, and Tritæa, the only inland city.

CXLVI. These are the twelve states of the Achæans, to which the Ionians formerly belonged, who, for this reason, constructed an equal number of cities in the country which they afterwards inhabited. That these are more properly Ionians than the rest, it would be absurd to assert or to imagine. It is certain that the Abantes[1] of Eubœa, who have neither name nor any thing else in common with Ionia, form a considerable part of them. They are, moreover, mixed with the Minyan-Orchomenians, the Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocidians, Molossians, the Pelasgians of Arcadia, the Dorians of Epidaurus, and various other nations. Even those who, migrating from the Prytaneum of Athens, esteem themselves the most noble of all the Ionians, on their first settling in the country brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women, whose parents they put to death. In consequence of this violence the women made a compact amongst themselves, which they delivered to their daughters, never to sit at meals with their husbands, nor to call them by their appropriate names; which resolution was provoked by the murder of their parents, their husbands, and their children, and by their being afterwards compelled to marry the assassins. The above happened at Miletus.

CXLVII. Of those chosen by these Ionians for their kings, some were Lydians, descended of Glaucus, the son of Hippolochus, and others Caucon-Pylians, of

1 This people cut off their hair before, and suffered it to grow behind; being a valiant race, they did this to prevent the enemy, whom they always boldly fronted, seizing them by the hair. For the same reason Alexander the Great ordered *his generals to* make the troops cut off their hair.—*Larcher.*

the race of Codrus, son of Melanthus. Of the nian name these were more tenacious than the r their countrymen; they are without question tru genuine Ionians: but this name may, in fact, b plied to all those of Athenian origin who cel the Apaturian festival;[1] from which it is to b served that the Ephesians and Colophonian alone excluded, who had been guilty of the cri murder.

CXLVIII. Panionium is a sacred place[2] or cale, situate towards the north, which by the uni consent of the Ionians is consecrated to the Heli Neptune.[3] Mycale is a promontory, projecting

1 This was first introduced at Athens, and thence c to the rest of the Ionians, Colophon and Ephesus alc cepted. It continued three days: the first was calle pia, from Dorpos, a supper; on the evening of this da tribe had a separate meeting, at which a sumptuous tainment was prepared. The second day was named rusis. Victims were offered to Jupiter and to Mine whose sacrifices, as in all that were offered to the c gods, it was usual to turn the head of the victims u towards heaven. The third day was called Koureoti Kouros, a youth, or Koura, shaving. The young m presented themselves to be inrolled amongst the citiz then their hair cut off. At this time their fathers were to swear that both themselves and the mothers of the men were freeborn Athenians. For farther particu this subject consult Archbishop Potter's Antiqui Greece.—*T.*

2 Ampelus and Omphalus were the same term orig however varied afterwards, and differently approp They are each a compound from Omphe, and relate oracular deity. Ampelus, at Mycale in Ionia, wa fessedly so denominated from its being a sacred pla abounding with waters, by which people who drank were supposed to be inspired.—*Bryant.*

3 The Ionians had a great veneration for Neptune had erected to him a temple at Helice, a city of Achai that country belonged to them. From this place th took his name of Heliconius. Homer calls him H

westward towards Samos. On this mountain the Ionians assemble from their different cities to celebrate the Panionia. Not only the proper names of these religious ceremonies, but those of all the other Greeks terminate, like the Persian proper names, in the same letter.

CXLIX. The above are the cities of Ionia. Those of Æolia are Cyme, sometimes called Phryconis, Larissæ, Neontichus, Temnos, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitane, Ægæa, Myrina, and Grynia; these were the original cities of Æolia. They were formerly twelve in number on the continent; but Smyrna, which was one of them, the Ionians divided from them. The country possessed by the Æolians is in itself more excellent than Ionia, though much inferior in the temperature of the air.

CL. The loss of Smyrna was occasioned by the following incident. Some inhabitants of Colophon, who had raised a sedition, and had been driven from their country, were received into Smyrna. They watched their opportunity, and whilst the citizens were engaged in celebrating the rites of Bacchus without the town, they secured the gates and took possession of the place. All the Æolians assembled for its relief. They afterwards came to terms, and it was agreed that the Ionians should retain the city, restoring to the former inhabitants their household goods. The Smyrneans were in consequence divided

king. The Ionians giving place to the Achaians, carried with them to Athens, where they took refuge, the worship of Neptune: afterwards fixing in Asia, they constructed in honor of this divinity a temple, on the model of that at Helice. This temple was in the territories of Priene, to which place *he who presided at the* sacrifices was obliged to belong, its *inhabitants giving out* that they came from Helice.—Larcher.

among the other cities, with enjoyment of the different privileges annexed to each.

CLI. The above are the Æolian cities on the continent, among which we have not enumerated those of Mount Ida, which can hardly be said to make a part of their body. They have also in Lesbos[1] five towns; there is a sixth, named Arisba, but this was subdued by the Methymneans, although allied to them by blood. They moreover possess a city in Tenedos,[2] and another in the Hundred Islands. The inhabitants of Lesbos and Tenedos, as well as those of the Ionian islands, were, from their situation, secure from danger: the others indiscriminately agreed to follow the direction and example of the Ionians.

CLII. The Ionians and Æolians made no delay in despatching ambassadors to Sparta, who, when there, selected for their common orator a man of Phocæa, whose name was Pythermus. Habited in purple,[3] as a means of getting a greater number of Spartans together, he stood forth in the midst of them, and exerted all his

1 The names of Arion and Terpander, of Pittacus, of Alcæus, and of Sappho, and, in aftertimes, of Theophanes the historian, concur in making the island of Lesbos a just object of classical curiosity. Arion and Terpander excelled all their contemporaries in the science and practice of music; Pittacus was eminent for his wisdom; and of Alcæus and Sappho little more need be said than that they have ever been considered as the founders of lyric poetry. A proper opportunity seems here to present itself of informing the English reader that what has been said of the dissolute manners of Sappho is only to be found in the works of those who lived a long time after her. The wines of Lesbos were esteemed the finest in Greece: it is now called Mitylene, which was the name of the ancient capital of the island.—*T.*

2 The Grecian fleet which proceeded against Troy lay here. It retains its name, is inhabited by Greeks and Turks, and, according to Pococke, exports good wine and brandy.—*T.*

3 This dress was the most likely to make him conspicuous, as being particularly affected by women.—Larcher.

powers to prevail on them to communicate their assistance. The Lacedæmonians paid no attention to him, and publicly resolved not to assist the Ionians. On the departure of the ambassadors they nevertheless despatched a vessel of fifty oars to watch the proceedings of Cyrus, as well as of the Ionians. Arriving at Phocæa, they sent forwards to Sardis one Lacrines, the principal man of the party, who was commissioned to inform Cyrus that the Lacedæmonians would resent whatever injury might be offered to any of the Grecian cities.

CLIII. Cyrus gave audience to Lacrines; after which he inquired of the Grecians around him who these Lacedæmonians were, and what effective power they possessed, to justify this lofty language. When he was satisfied in these particulars, he told the Spartan, 'That men who had a large void space in their city, where they assembled for the purpose of defrauding each other, could never be to him objects of terror:' he farther observed, 'that if he continued but in health, he would take care that their concern for the Ionian troubles should be superseded by the greatness of their own.' Cyrus made this reflection on the Greeks from the circumstance of their having large public squares[1] for the convenience of trade: the Persians have nothing of the kind. The care of Sardis Cyrus afterwards intrusted to Tabalus, a Persian; the disposition of the Lydian treasures he intrusted to Pactyas, a Lydian: Cyrus himself proceeded to Ecbatana, taking Crœsus with him. The Ionians he held in

1 I have my doubts whether Herodotus was not misinformed in this particular. Xenophon properly distinguishes the public square which was occupied by the houses of the magistrates, and *those appropriated* to the education of youth, from *those places in which provisions* and merchandise were sold. —*Larcher.*

trifling estimation, compared with what he expected in his views on Babylon and the Bactrians. He was prepared also for more serious resistance from the Sacians and Egyptians: he therefore resolved to take the command in these expeditions himself, and to intrust one of his officers with the conduct of the Ionian war.

CLIV. As soon as Cyrus had left Sardis Pactyas excited the Lydians to revolt. He proceeded towards the sea, and having all the wealth of Sardis at command, he procured a band of mercenaries, and prevailed on the inhabitants of the coast to enlist under his banners; he then encamped before Sardis, and besieged Tabalus in the citadel.

CLV. Intelligence of this was brought to Cyrus on his march, who thus addressed Crœsus on the subject: 'What will, in your opinion, Crœsus, be the event of these disturbances? The Lydians seem inclined to provide sufficient employment for me, and trouble for themselves. I am in doubt whether it will not be better to reduce them altogether to servitude. I appear to myself in the situation of a man who, destroying the parent, has spared the child. You, who were in every sense the parent of the Lydians, remain in captivity; and yet I am surprised that they, to whom I have restored their city, rebel against my power.' Crœsus, on hearing these sentiments of Cyrus, was alarmed for the safety of Sardis. 'Sir,' he replied, 'your remarks are certainly reasonable; but do not in your anger destroy an ancient city, which cannot justly be accused of the former or present commotions. Of its preceding troubles I was the occasion, the penalty of which I suffer in my own person. Pactyas, *who has* abused your confidence, is the author of *the present;* let him therefore be the object of your

resentment; but let the Lydians be forgiven, who may be easily prevented from giving you trouble or alarm hereafter. Let their arms be taken from them; let them be commanded to wear tunics under their cloaks, and buskins about their legs; suffer them to instruct their children in dancing, music, and other feminine accomplishments; you will soon see them lose the dignity of manhood,[1] and be effectually delivered from all future apprehensions of their revolt.'

CLVI. These suggestions Crœsus was induced to make because he thought that even this situation would be better for his country than a state of actual servitude. He was well assured, that unless what he had urged was forcible, Cyrus would not be prevailed on to alter his determination. He reflected also on the probability of the Lydians revolting in future, if they escaped the present danger, and their consequent and unavoidable destruction. Cyrus took in good part the remonstrance of Crœsus, with which, forgetting his resentment, he promised to comply. He in consequence despatched Mazares the Mede, who was commissioned to enforce these observances among the Lydians which Crœsus had recommended. He farther ordered all those to be sold as slaves who had been active in the Lydian revolt, excepting Pactyas, whom he desired to be brought a prisoner to his presence.

CLVII. These commands he issued in his progress,

1 These people became so effeminate, that the word *ludizein* signified to dance: the Romans also called dances and pantomimes *ludiones* and *ludii*, which words are derived, not from *ludus*, but from the Lydians; for the Latins used Ludus, Surus, Suri, for Lydus, Syrus, and Syria.

Xerxes compelled the Babylonians who had revolted from him to adopt a similar conduct. He forbade their carrying arms, and obliged them to learn the practice of music, to have in their cities places of debauch, and to wear long tunics.—*Larcher.*

and he marched without delay to Persia. As soon as Pactyas was informed that an army was marching to oppose him, he fled in affright to Cyme. Mazares proceeded instantly to Sardis, with a small division of the army of Cyrus. When he heard of the flight of Pactyas, his first step was to compel the Lydians to the observance of what Cyrus had commanded. This proved so effectual that it produced a total change in the manners of the Lydians. Mazares then despatched messengers to Cyme, demanding the person of Pactyas: with this the Cymeans hesitated to comply, and first of all sent persons to consult the oracle of Branchidæ for directions how to act. This oracle was of the greatest antiquity, and consulted both by the Ionians and Æolians: it is in the territories of Miletus, beyond the port of Panormus.[1]

CLVIII. Their messengers were directed to inquire what conduct, with respect to Pactyas, would be most conformable to the will of the gods: they were in answer commanded to deliver him up to the Persians; which step, on their return, was about to be followed. In contradiction to the general inclination, Aristodicus, son of Heraclides, a man exceedingly popular, distrusted the interpretation of the oracle and the fidelity of the messengers. He proposed therefore that a second message of inquiry should be sent to the oracle, and he himself was among the persons appointed for this purpose.

CLIX. On their arrival at Branchidæ Aristodicus was the person who addressed the oracle, which he did thus: 'To avoid a cruel death from the Persians, Pactyas, a Lydian, fled to us for refuge; the Persians

1 It will be proper to remember here that there were two places of this name, and that this must not be confounded with the port of Panormus in the vicinity of Ephesus.—T.

required us to deliver him into their hands: much as we are afraid of their power, we fear still more to withdraw our protection from a suppliant, till we know your immutable opinion of such conduct.' He nevertheless received the same answer; and they were ordered to deliver up Pactyas. To give greater force to what he had said, Aristodicus made a circle round the temple, and from such nests as were built on the outside he took the young. In consequence of his doing this a voice is said to have exclaimed from the innermost recesses of the temple—'Impious man! how darest thou to injure those who have sought my protection?' In answer to this, Aristodicus replied with perfect composure—'Are you attentive to those who have sought your protection, and do you command us to abandon those who have sought ours?' 'Yes,' returned the oracle, 'I do command it, that such impious men as you may perish the sooner, and that you may never more trouble me about delivering up suppliants.'

CLX. The Cymeans, deliberating on this answer, resolved to take a middle step, that they might neither offend heaven by abandoning one who had sought their protection, nor expose themselves to the indignation of Cyrus by refusing his request. Pactyas therefore was privately despatched to Mitylene. From hence also Mazares demanded him, and for a certain compensation the inhabitants of Mitylene agreed to deliver him. This, however, as the matter was never brought to an issue, I pretend not positively to assert. The Cymeans, hearing the danger of Pactyas, sent a vessel to Lesbos, in which he was conveyed to Chios. He here took refuge in the temple of Minerva.[1] The

1 *Minerva Poliouchos*, the protectress of the citadel. All

Chians were prevailed on by the offer of Atarneus, a place in Mysia opposite to Lesbos, to take him forcibly from hence, and surrender him[1] to his enemies. The Persians thus obtained the means of complying with the wish of Cyrus to have Pactyas delivered alive into his hands. Long however after this event the Chians refused to use any part of the produce of Atarneus in any of their sacred ceremonies; they appeared to hold it in particular detestation, and it was not in any form introduced in their temples.

CLXI. After Pactyas had been given up by the Chians Mazares proceeded to reduce those to obedience who had opposed Tabalus. The Prienians were subdued and sold for slaves; the plains of the Meander and the city of Magnesia were given up for plunder to the soldiers: after these events Mazares fell a victim to a sudden disease.

CLXII. Harpagus the Mede was appointed to succeed him: this was the man whom Astyages had entertained with so unnatural a feast, and who had assisted Cyrus in obtaining the kingdom: him Cyrus appointed to the command of his army. On his arrival in Ionia he blockaded the different towns by throwing up intrenchments before them: Phocæa was the first city of Ionia which thus fell into his hands.

citadels were supposed to be under the protection of this goddess, where also she had usually a temple.

Soon as to Ilion's topmost tower they come,
And awful reach the high Palladian dome.—*Pope*, Il. vi.

1 Charon the Lampsacenian, says Plutarch, a more ancient writer than Herodotus, relating this matter concerning Pactyas, charges neither the Mitylenians nor Chians with any such action. These are his words: 'Pactyas, on hearing of *the approach* of the Persian army, fled first to Mitylene, then *to Chios*, and fell into the hands of Cyrus.'—Plutarch on the *malignity of Herodotus*.

CLXIII. The Phocæans were the first of the Greeks who made long voyages. The Adriatic and the Tyrrhene seas, Iberia and Tartessus, were first of all explored by them. Their vessels were not round, but of fifty oars. On their touching at Tartessus they conciliated the favor of Arganthonius, sovereign of the place; he had then governed the Tartessians for the space of eighty years, and he lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. On that occasion he formed such a regard for the Phocæans, that, soliciting them to leave Ionia, he gave them permission to choose within his territories whatever situation they might prefer. On their refusal of his offer, and when he heard from them that the power of the Mede was continually increasing, he supplied them with money to build walls to their city. The extent of the walls, which were of many furlongs, the size of the stones, with the skill of the workmanship, sufficiently attest the donor's liberality.

CLXIV. The Phocæans being thus provided with walls, Harpagus advanced and attacked their city. He offered them terms, and engaged to leave them unmolested, if they would suffer one of their towers to be demolished, and give up some one edifice [1] for a sacred purpose. From their aversion to servitude, the inhabitants requested a day to deliberate on his

1 This passage is involved in some obscurity. The commentators understand a temple; M. Reiske wishes to make an addition of the word mithre. But the Persians did not confine the deity within walls. Perhaps, says Wesseling, Harpagus was satisfied with their consecrating one single building, in token of subjection. For my own part, I think that the king, having a palace in every large town of his dominions, *the building which* Harpagus demanded was probably *intended for his residence,* whenever he might happen to *visit Phocæa; or it might* perhaps be intended for the governor, *his representative.—Larcher.*

proposal, desiring him in that interval to wi his forces. Harpagus avowed himself consci their intentions, but granted their request. diately on his retiring from their walls the Ph prepared their fifty-oared galleys, in whicl placed their families and effects. They collect the statues and votive offerings from their te leaving only paintings, and such works of iroı stone as could not easily be removed. Witl they embarked, and directed their course to Thus deserted by its inhabitants, the Persian possession of Phocæa.

CLXV. On their arrival at Chios they mad positions for the purchase of the Ænussæ island succeeding in their object, as the Chians were of being by these means injured in their com the Phocæans proceeded to Cyrnus.[1] In this twenty years before, they had, under some oı direction, built a town, to which they gave the of Alalia. Arganthonius in the meanwhile had and the Phocæans in their way to Cyrnus touc Phocæa, where they put to death every one garrison which had been left by Harpagus for t fence of the place. After this they bound them under solemn curses never to desert each other. farther agreed by an oath never to return to P till a red-hot ball which they threw into tl

CLXVI. Here they settled, lived in peace with the ancient inhabitants for the space of five years, and erected some temples. In consequence however of their committing depredations on all their neighbors, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians collected a fleet of sixty vessels to oppose them. The Phocæans on their part were not inactive; they also fitted out sixty vessels, and advanced to meet their adversaries on the Sardinian sea. The fleets engaged; the Phocæans conquered, but obtained what might be termed a Cadmean victory.[1] They lost forty of their vessels, and the twenty which remained were unfit for all service. Returning therefore to Alalia, they got together their families and effects, loaded their ships with all that they could carry, and abandoning Cyrnus, directed their course to Rhegium.

CLXVII. On board the vessels which were taken by the enemy were a number of prisoners, most of whom were carried on shore and stoned to death. After which enormity it happened that all the men, cattle, and different animals belonging to Agylla,[2] which approached this spot, were seized with convulsions, and deformity of one kind or other. This circumstance, and a wish to atone for their crime, induced the people of Agylla to consult the Delphic oracle. The Pythian directed them to perform what is still observed as a custom among them: they instituted magnificent funeral rites in honor of those who

1 The origin of this proverb is variously related. Suidas says, amongst other things, that it became a proverb, because Cadmus having destroyed the dragon which guarded a fountain sacred to Mars, lived afterwards for the space of eight years in servitude to Mars. It was applied universally to those whose *ostensible* superiority was accompanied with *real disadvantage*.—*T.*

2 *This was Cære in Etruria.*

had been slain, and they introduced in their honor gymnastic and equestrian exercises. Such was the fate of this portion of the Phocæans. They who retired to Rhegium took possession of a part of Œnotria, and built a city called Hyela. To this they were persuaded by a man of Posidonia, who instructed them that the oracle really intended them to build a mausoleum to the hero Cyrnus, and not a city in the island of that name.—Such is the history of the Phocæans of Ionia.

CLXVIII. The fortune of the Teians was nearly similar; Harpagus having taken their city by blockade, they embarked, and passed over into Thrace; here they built Abdera,[1] the foundations of which were originally laid by Timesius[2] of Clazomenæ. He enjoyed no advantage from his labors, but was banished by the

1 Of this place many singularities are related by Lucian and Pliny. The grass of the country was so strong, that such horses as ate of it ran mad. The inhabitants were afflicted with a fever, which so disturbed their imaginations, that they fancied themselves actors, and were, during the delirium, eternally repeating some verses from the Andromeda of Euripides. It produced however many famous men. It was the birthplace of Democritus, of Protagoras, Anaxarchus, Hecatæus, and others.—*T.*

2 Larcher, on the authority of Plutarch and Ælian, reads Timesias. The reading in all the manuscripts and editions of Herodotus is Timesius.

Timesias was governor of Clazomenæ, a man of great integrity. Envy, which always persecutes such characters, ultimately effected his disgrace. He was for a time regardless of its consequences; but it at length banished him from his country. He was passing by a school, before which the boys, dismissed by their master, were playing. Two of them were quarrelling about a piece of string. 'I wish,' said one of them, 'I might so dash out the brains of Timesias.' Hearing this, he concluded that if he was thus hated by boys as well as men, the dislike of his person must be universal indeed; he therefore voluntarily banished himself.—Ælian.

Thracians, though now venerated by the Teians of Abdera as a hero.

CLXIX. These Ionians alone, through a warm attachment to liberty, thus abandoned their native country. The rest of these people, excepting the Milesians, met Harpagus in the field, and like their friends, who had sought another residence, fought like men and patriots. On being conquered, they continued in their several cities, and submitted to the wills of their new masters. The Milesians, who, as I have before mentioned, had formed a league of amity with Cyrus, lived in undisturbed tranquillity. Thus was Ionia reduced a second time to servitude. Awed by the fate of their countrymen on the continent, the Ionians of the islands, without any resistance, submitted themselves to Harpagus and Cyrus.

CLXX. The Ionians, though thus depressed, did not omit assembling at Panionium, where, as I have been informed, Bias of Priene gave them advice so full of wisdom, that their compliance with it would have rendered them the happiest of the Greeks. He recommended them to form one general fleet, to proceed with this to Sardinia, and there erect one city capable of receiving all the Ionians. Thus they might have lived in enjoyment of their liberties, and possessing the greatest of all the islands, might have been secure of the dependence of the rest. On the contrary, their continuance in Ionia rendered every expectation of their recovering their independence altogether impossible. This, in their fallen condition, was the advice of Bias; but before their calamities Thales the Milesian, who was in fact of Phœnician origin, had wisely counselled them to have one general *representation* of the Ionians at Teos, this *being a central situation*; of which the other cities,

still using their own customs and laws, migh sidered as so many different tribes. Such ᵛ different suggestions of these two persons.

CLXXI. On the reduction of Ionia Harp corporated the Ionians and Æolians with his fo proceeded against the Carians, Caunians, and The Carians formerly were islanders, in subj Minos, and called Leleges. But I do not, ι strictest examination, find that they ever paic They supplied Minos, as often as he reques a number of vessels, and at the period of prosperity and various victories were disti above their neighbors by their ingenuity. T provements now in use among the Greeks puted to them. The Carians were the first wl crests to their helmets and ornaments to theiı They were also the first who gave the sl handle.[1] Before their time, such as bore shi no other means of using them but by a piec ther suspended from the neck over the left s At a long interval of time, the Dorians and expelled the Carians, who, thus driven fı islands, settled on the continent. The above tion concerning the Carians we receive fron they themselves contradict it altogether, an that they are original natives of the contin had never but one name. In confirmation of

1 It appears from Homer that in the time of tl war the buckler had two handles of wood, one throu the arm was passed; the other was grasped by th regulate its movement. See Iliad, b. viii. 193. Thi larity is omitted by Mr. Pope, who contents him saying, shield of gold. The original is, the shield i *of gold, handles* and all.—T.

Sophocles therefore has been guilty of an anach *giving the shield* of Ajax a handle of leather.—La

show at Mylassa,[1] a very ancient structure, built in honor of the Carian Jove, to the privileges of which the Lydians and Mysians are also admitted, as being of the same origin. According to their account Lydus, Misus and Cares were brothers; the use of the above temple is therefore granted to their descendants, but to no other nation, though distinguished by the use of the same language.

CLXXII. The Caunians are in my opinion the aborigines of the country, notwithstanding they assert themselves to have come from Crete. I am not able to speak with decision on the subject; but it is certain, that they either adopted the Carian language, or the Carians accommodated themselves to theirs. Their laws and customs differ essentially from those of other nations, and no less so from the Carians. Among them it is esteemed highly meritorious to make drinking parties, to which they resort in crowds, both men, women, and children, according to their different ages and attachments. In earlier times they adopted the religious ceremonies of foreign nations; but determining afterwards to have no deities but those of their own country, they assembled of all ages in arms, and rushing forwards, brandishing their spears as in the act of pursuit, they stopped not until they came to the mountains of Calynda, crying aloud that they were expelling their foreign gods.

CLXXIII. The Lycians certainly derive their origin

1 Now called Melasso. Besides the temple here mentioned there was another of great antiquity, in honor of Jupiter Osogus. In aftertimes a beautiful temple was constructed here, sacred to Augustus and to Rome. It is at the present day remarkable for producing the best tobacco in Turkey.—*T.*

from Crete.[1] The whole of this island was formerly possessed by barbarians; but a contest for the supreme power arising between Sarpedon and Minos, the sons of Europa, Minos prevailed, and expelled Sarpedon and his adherents. These, in leaving their country, came to that part of Asia which is called Milyas. The country of the Lycians was formerly called Milyas, and the Milyans were anciently known by the name of Solymi. Here Sarpedon governed; his subjects retained the names they brought, and indeed they are now by their neighbors called Termilians. Lycus, the son of Pandion, being also driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, went to Sarpedon, at Termilæ; in process of time the nation was, after him, called Lycians. Their laws are partly Cretan and partly Carian. They have one distinction from which they never deviate, which is peculiar to themselves; they take their names from their mothers,[2] and not from their fathers. If any one is asked concerning his family, he proceeds immediately

1 Now called Candia. For an account of its precise circumstances consult Pococke.—*T.*

2 Bellerophon slew a wild boar, which destroyed all the cattle and fruits of the Xanthians, but for his services he received no compensation. He therefore prayed to Neptune, and obtained from him, that all the fields of the Xanthians should exhale a salt dew, and be universally corrupted. This continued till, regarding the supplications of the women, he prayed a second time to Neptune to remove this effect of his indignation from them. Hence a law was instituted amongst the Xanthians, that they should derive their names from their mothers, and not from their fathers.—*Plutarch on the Virtues of Women.*

The country of the Xanthians was in Lycia. If this custom commenced with the Xanthians, the Lycians doubtless adopted *it. Amongst* these people the inheritance descended to the *daughters,* the sons were excluded.—Larcher.

to give an account of his descent, mentioning the female branches only. If any free woman marries a slave, the children of such marriage are reputed free; but if a man who is a citizen, and of authority among them, marry a concubine, or a foreigner, his children can never attain any dignity in the state.

CLXXIV. On this occasion the Carians made no remarkable exertions, but afforded an easy victory to Harpagus. The Carians, indeed, were not less pusillanimous than all the Greeks inhabiting this district; among whom are the Cnidians, a Lacedæmonian colony, whose territories, called Triopium, extended to the sea. The whole of this country, except the Bybassian peninsula, is surrounded with water; on the north by the bay of Ceramus, and on the west by that sea which flows near Syme and Rhodes. Through this peninsula, which was only five furlongs in extent, the Cnidians endeavored to make a passage, whilst the forces of Harpagus were employed against Ionia. The whole of this country lying beyond the isthmus being their own, they meant thus to reduce it into the form of an island. Whilst they were engaged in this employment the laborers were wounded in different parts of the body, and particularly in the eyes, by small pieces of flint, which seemed to fly about in so wonderful a manner as to justify their apprehensions that some supernatural power had interfered. They sent therefore to make inquiries at Delphi what power it was which thus opposed their efforts? The Pythian,[1] according to their own tradition, answered them thus:

1 This answer of the oracle brings to mind an historical anecdote, which we may properly introduce here:—The Dutch offered Charles the Second of Spain to make the Tagus navigable as far as Lisbon, at their own expense, provided

Nor build, nor dig; for wiser Heaven
Had, were it best, an island given.

On this the Cnidians desisted from their purpose on the approach of the enemy surrendered them without resistance to Harpagus.

CLXXV. The inland country beyond Halicar was inhabited by the Pedasians. Of them it firmed, that whenever they or their neighbor menaced by any calamity, a prodigious beard from the chin of the priestess of Minerva: this, say, has happened three several times. They h fortified mount Lida, were the only people of who discovered any resolution in opposing Harp After many exertions of bravery, they were at l subdued.

CLXXVI. When Harpagus led his army to Xanthus, the Lycians boldly advanced to meet and though inferior in number, behaved witl greatest bravery. Being defeated, and pursued their city, they collected their wives, children valuable effects, into the citadel, and there cons the whole in one immense fire. They after uniting themselves under the most solemn ca made a private sally on the enemy, and were

he would suffer them to exact, for a certain number of a stipulated duty on merchandise which should pas way. It was their intention to make the Manzanarez gable from Madrid to the place where it joins the Tagus. a sage deliberation, the council of Castile returned th markable answer: 'If it had pleased God to make

man put to death. Of those who now inhabit Lycia, calling themselves Xanthians, the whole are foreigners, eighty families excepted: these survived the calamity of their country, being at that time absent on some foreign expedition. Thus Xanthus fell into the hands of Harpagus; as also did Caunus, whose people imitated, almost in every respect, the example of the Lycians.

CLXXVII. Whilst Harpagus was thus engaged in the conquest of the Lower Asia, Cyrus himself conducted an army against the upper regions, of every part of which he became master. The particulars of his victories I shall omit; expatiating only on those which are more memorable in themselves, and which Cyrus found the most difficult to accomplish. When he had reduced the whole of the continent he commenced his march against the Assyrians.

CLXXVIII. The Assyrians are masters of many capital towns; but their place of greatest strength and fame is Babylon,[1] where, after the destruction of Nineveh, was the royal residence. It is situated on a large plain, and is a perfect square: each side, by every approach, is in length one hundred and twenty furlongs; the space therefore occupied by the whole is four hundred and eighty furlongs. So extensive is the ground which Babylon occupies; its internal beauty and magnificence exceed whatever has come within my knowlege. It is surrounded by a trench, very wide, deep, and full of water: the wall beyond this is two hundred royal cubits high, and fifty

1 The greatest cities of Europe give but a faint idea of that grandeur which all historians unanimously ascribe to the famous city *of Babylon.—Dutens.*

'Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chal*dees excellency.'—Isaiah.*

wide: the royal exceeds the common cubit by digits.

CLXXIX. It will not be foreign to my purp describe the use to which the earth dug out trench was converted, as well as the particular m in which they constructed the wall. The earth trench was first of all laid in heaps, and when a cient quantity was obtained, made into square b and baked in a furnace. They used as cement a position of heated bitumen, which, mixed with th of reeds, was placed betwixt every thirtieth cou bricks. Having thus lined the sides of the t they proceeded to build the wall in the same ma on the summit of which, and fronting each other erected small watch-towers of one story, leav space betwixt them through which a chariot and horses might pass and turn. In the circumfere the wall, at different distances, were a hundred gates of brass,[1] whose hinges and frames were same metal. Within an eight days' journey Babylon is a city called Is; near which flows a of the same name, which empties itself into th phrates. With the current of this river partic bitumen descend towards Babylon, by the me which its walls were constructed.

CLXXX. The great river Euphrates, which its deep and rapid streams, rises in the Arn mountains, and pours itself into the Red Sea,[2] d Babylon into two parts. The walls meet and fo

1 'Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus: I before thee; I will break in pieces the gates of br *Isaiah*.

2 The original Erythrean or Red Sea was that part *Indian ocean* which forms the peninsula of Arabia; t *sian and Arabian* gulfs being only branches of it.—T.

angle with the river at each extremity of the town, where a breastwork of burnt bricks begins, and is continued along each bank. The city, which abounds in houses from three to four stories in height, is regularly divided into streets. Through these, which are parallel, there are transverse avenues to the river, opened through the wall and breastwork, and secured by an equal number of little gates of brass.

CLXXXI. The first wall is regularly fortified; the interior one, though less in substance, is of almost equal strength. Besides these, in the centre of each division of the city, there is a circular space surrounded by a wall. In one of these stands the royal palace, which fills a large and strongly defended space. The temple of Jupiter Belus[1] occupies the other, whose huge gates of brass may still be seen. It is a square building, each side of which is of the length of two furlongs. In the midst a tower rises of the solid depth and height of one furlong; on which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower; and in the middle of the whole structure there is a convenient resting-place. In the last tower is a large

1 It is necessary to have in mind that the temples of the ancients were essentially different from our churches. A large space was inclosed by walls, in which were courts, a grove, pieces of water, apartments sometimes for the priests: and lastly the temple, properly so called, and where most frequently it was permitted the priests alone to enter. The whole inclosure was named *το ιερον*: the temple properly so called, or the residence of the deity, was called *ναος* (naos) or the cell. It is obvious that this last is the place particularly alluded to.—*Larcher*.

Bel or Belus was a title bestowed on many persons. It was *particularly given* to Nimrod, who built the city of Babel or *Babylon*.—*Bryant*.

chapel, in which is placed a couch magnificently adorned, and near it a table of solid gold; but there is no statue in the place. No man is suffered to sleep here; but the apartment is occupied by a female, whom the Chaldæan priests[1] affirm that their deity selects from the whole nation as the object of his pleasures.

CLXXXII. They themselves have a tradition which cannot easily obtain credit, that their deity enters this temple, and reposes by night on this couch. A similar assertion is also made by the Egyptians of Thebes; for, in the interior part of the temple of the Theban Jupiter, a woman in like manner sleeps. Of these two women it is presumed that neither of them are ever introduced to the other sex. In which predicament the priestess of the temple of Pataræ in Lycia is also placed. Here is no regular oracle;[2] but whenever a divine communication is expected the priestess is obliged to pass the preceding night in the temple.

CLXXXIII. In this temple there is also a small chapel, lower in the building, which contains a figure of Jupiter in a sitting posture, with a large table before him; these, with the base of the table and the seat of the throne, are all of the purest gold, and are estimated by the Chaldæans to be worth eight hundred talents. On the outside of this chapel there are two altars; one is of gold, the other is of immense size,

1 Belus came originally from Egypt. He went, accompanied by other Egyptians, to Babylon: there he established priests; these are the personages called by the Babylonians Chaldæans. The Chaldæans carried to Babylon the science of astrology, which they learned from the Egyptian priests.—*Larcher*.

2 According to Servius, Apollo communicated his oracles *at Pataræ during* the six winter months, at Delos in the six *months of summer.—Larcher*.

and appropriated to the sacrifice of full-grown animals: those only which have not left their dams may be offered on the altar of gold. On the larger altar, at the time of the anniversary festival in honor of their god, the Chaldæans regularly consume incense to the amount of a thousand talents. There was formerly in this temple a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high; this, however, I mention from the information of the Chaldæans, and not from my own knowlege. Darius the son of Hystaspes[1] endeavored by sinister means to get possession of this, not daring openly to take it; but his son Xerxes afterwards seized it, putting the priest to death who endeavored to prevent its removal. The temple, besides those ornaments which I have described, contains many offerings of individuals.

CLXXXIV. Among the various sovereigns of Babylon who contributed to the strength of its walls and the decoration of its temples, and of whom I shall make mention when I treat of the Assyrians, there were two females: the former of these was named Semiramis,[2] who preceded the other by an interval of

1 The only Babylonish and Persian princes found in the Bible are Nebuchadnezzar, Evil Merodach, Belshazzar, Ahasuerus, Darius the Mede, Coresh, and Darius the Persian; Artaxerxes also is mentioned in Nehemiah. Ahasuerus has been the subject of much etymological investigation. Archbishop Usher supposes him to be Darius Hystaspes; Scaliger, Xerxes; Josephus, the Septuagint, and Dr. Hyde, Artaxerxes Longimanus.—*Richardson.*

2 It may be worth while to observe the different opinions of authors about the time when Semiramis is supposed to have lived.

	Years.
According to Syncellus, she lived before Christ	2177
Petavius makes the term	2060
Helvicus	2248
Eusebius	1984
Mr. Jackson	1964
Archbishop Usher	1215

five generations. This queen raised certain mounds, which are indeed admirable works; till then the whole plain was subject to violent inundations from the river.

CLXXXV. The other queen was called Nitocris: she being a woman of superior understanding, not only left many permanent works, which I shall hereafter describe, but also having observed the increasing power and the restless spirit of the Medes, and that Nineveh, with other cities, had fallen a prey to their ambition, put her dominions in the strongest posture of defence. To effect this she sunk a number of canals above Babylon, which by their disposition rendered the Euphrates, which before flowed to the sea in an almost even line, so complicated by its windings, that in its passage to Babylon it arrives three times at Ardericca, an Assyrian village: and to this hour they who wish to go from the sea up the Euphrates to Babylon are compelled to touch at Ardericca three times on three different days. The banks, also, which she raised to restrain the river on each side, are really wonderful, from their enormous height and substance. At a considerable distance above Babylon, turning aside a little from the stream, she ordered an immense lake to be dug, sinking it till they came to the water: its circumference was no less than four hundred and twenty furlongs. The earth of this was applied to the embankments of the river; and the sides of the trench or lake were strengthened and lined with stones, brought thither for that purpose. She had in view by these works, first of all to break the violence of the

	Years.
Philo Biblius, from Sanchoniathon, about . .	1200
Herodotus about	713

What credit can be given to the history of a person, the time *of whose life* cannot be ascertained within 1535 years?—*Bryant.*

current by the number of circumflexions, and also to render the navigation to Babylon as difficult and tedious as possible. These things were done in that part of her dominions which was most accessible to the Medes; and with the farther view of keeping them in ignorance of her affairs, by giving them no commercial encouragement.

CLXXXVI. Having rendered both of these works strong and secure, she proceeded to execute the following project. The city being divided by the river into two distinct parts, whoever wanted to go from one side to the other was obliged, in the time of the former kings, to pass the water in a boat. For this, which was a matter of general inconvenience, she provided this remedy; and the immense lake which she had before sunk became the farther means of extending her fame:—Having procured a number of large stones, she changed the course of the river, directing it into the canal prepared for its reception. When this was full, the natural bed of the river became dry, and the embankments on each side, near those smaller gates which led to the water, were lined with bricks hardened by fire, similar to those which had been used in the construction of the wall. She afterwards, nearly in the centre of the city, with the stones above mentioned, strongly compacted with iron and with lead, erected a bridge;[1] over this the inhabitants

1 Diodorus Siculus represents this bridge as five furlongs in length; but as Strabo assures us that the Euphrates was no more than one furlong wide, Rollin is of opinion that the bridge could not be so long as Diodorus describes it. Although the Euphrates was, generally speaking, no more than one furlong in breadth, at the time of a flood it was probably more; and *doubtless the length of the bridge was proportioned to the extremest possible width of the river. This circumstance M. Rollin* does not seem to have considered.

passed in the day-time by a square platform, ' was removed in the evening to prevent acts of n depredation. When the above canal was thoro filled with water, and the bridge completely fir and adorned, the Euphrates was suffered to retu its original bed: thus both the canal and the b were confessedly of the greatest utility to the pu

CLXXXVII. The above queen was also celeb for another instance of ingenuity: she cause tomb[1] to be erected over one of the principal ga the city, and so situated as to be obvious to univ inspection: it was thus inscribed—'If any of th vereigns, my successors, shall be in extreme wa money, let him open my tomb, and take what n he may think proper; if his necessity be not ; let him forbear; the experiment will perhaps be gerous.' The tomb remained without injury ti time and reign of Darius. He was equally offen the gate's being rendered useless, and that the i tion thus held out to become affluent should have so long neglected. The gate, it is to be observe of no use, from the general aversion to pass thro place over which a dead body was laid. Darius o the tomb; but instead of finding riches, he saw the dead body, with a label of this import: 'If

The Manzanarez, which washes one of the extremi Madrid, is but a small stream: but as, in the time of a it spreads itself over the neighboring fields, Philip the S built a bridge eleven hundred feet long. The bridge of ramis, its length alone excepted, must have been ve ferior to these of ours. It consisted only of large ma stone, piled on each other at regular distances, w arches; they were made to communicate by pieces of thrown over each pile.—*Larcher.*

1 *It appears* from Plutarch, that the tomb of Cyrus, *many of the* princes of the East, were within the prec *their cities.—Bryant.*

avarice had not been equally base and insatiable, you would not have intruded on the repose of the dead.'—Such are the traditions concerning this queen.

CLXXXVIII. Against her son Labynetus, who, with the name of his father, enjoyed the empire of Assyria, Cyrus conducted his army. The great king,[1] in his warlike expeditions, is provided from home with cattle, and all other necessaries for his table. There is also carried with him water of the river Choaspes, which flows near Susa, for the king drinks of no other; wherever he goes he is attended by a number of four-wheeled carriages, drawn by mules, in which the water of Choaspes, being first boiled, is disposed in vessels of silver.

CLXXXIX. Cyrus, in his march to Babylon, arrived at the river Gyndes, which, rising in the mountains of Matiene, and passing through the country of the Darneans, loses itself in the Tigris: and this, after flowing by Opis, is finally discharged into the Red Sea. Whilst Cyrus was endeavouring to pass this river, which could not be performed without boats, one of the white consecrated horses boldly entering the stream, in his attempts to cross it was borne away by the rapidity of the current, and totally lost. Cyrus exasperated by the accident, made a vow that he would render this stream so very insignificant, that women should hereafter be able to cross it without so

1 This was the title by which the Greeks always distinguished the monarchs of Persia. The emperor of Constantinople is at the present day called the grand signior.—*Larcher.*

Lofty titles have always been, and still continue to be conferred on the oriental princes. 'Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia: The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms *of the earth.' Ezra* i. 2.

'For I never hurt any that was willing to serve Nabucho-*donosor, king of* all the earth.' Judith xi. 1.

much as wetting their feet. He accordingl pended his designs on Babylon, and divided his into two parts: he then marked out with a each side the river one hundred and eighty tre these were dug according to his orders; and so number of men were employed, that he accom his purpose; but he thus wasted the whole summer.

CXC. Cyrus having thus satisfied his rese with respect to the Gyndes, on the approach of prepared to march towards Babylon: the Baby awaited him in arms: as he advanced they m gave him battle, but were defeated, and chas the town. The inhabitants were well acqu with the restless and ambitious temper of Cyru had guarded against this event, by collecting sions and other necessaries sufficient for many support, which induced them to regard a sieg matter of but small importance; and Cyrus much time lost, without having made the smalle gress, was reduced to great perplexity.

CXCI. Whilst in this state of anxiety he a the following expedient, either from the sugg of others, or from the deliberation of his own ment:—He placed one detachment of his forces the river first enters the city, and another w leaves it, directing them to enter the chann attack the town whenever a passage could be ef After this disposition of his men, he withdre

sians in their station watched the proper opportunity, and when the stream had so far retired as not to be higher than their thighs, they entered Babylon without difficulty. If the besieged had either been aware of the designs of Cyrus, or had discovered the project before its actual accomplishment, they might have effected the total destruction of these troops. They had only to secure the little gates which led to the river, and to have manned the embankments on either side, and they might have inclosed the Persians in a net from which they could never have escaped: as it happened, they were taken by surprise; and such is the extent of that city that, as the inhabitants themselves affirm, they who lived in the extremities were made prisoners before any alarm was communicated[1] to the centre of the place. It was a day of festivity among them, and whilst the citizens were engaged in dance and merriment, Babylon was, for the first time, thus taken.

CXCII. The following exists, amongst many other proofs which I shall hereafter produce, of the power and greatness of Babylon. Independent of those subsidies which are paid monthly to the Persian monarch, the whole of his dominions are obliged throughout the year to provide subsistence for him and for his army. Babylon alone raises a supply for four months, eight being proportioned to all the rest of Asia; so that the resources of this region are considered as adequate to a third part of Asia. The government also of this

1 They who were in the citadel did not know of the capture of the place till break of day, which is not at all improbable: but it exceeds belief what Aristotle affirms, that even on the third day *it was* not known in some quarters of the *town that Babylon* was taken.—*Larcher*.

country, which the Persians call a satrapy, is deemed by much the noblest in the empire. When Tritantæchmes, son of Artabazus, was appointed to this principality by the king, he received every day an artaby of silver. The artaby is a Persian measure which exceeds the Attic medimnus by about three chœnices. Besides his horses for military service, this province maintained for the sovereign's use a stud of eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand mares; one horse to twenty mares. He had moreover so immense a number of Indian dogs,[1] that four great towns in the vicinity of Babylon were exempted from all other tax but that of maintaining them.

CXCIII. The Assyrians have but little rain; the lands however are fertilised, and the fruits of the earth nourished by means of the river. This does not,[2] like the Egyptian Nile, enrich the country by overflowing its banks, but is dispersed by manual labor, or by hydraulic engines. The Babylonian district, like Egypt, is intersected by a number of canals, the largest of which, continued with a south-east course from the Euphrates to that part of the Tigris where Nineveh stands, is capable of receiving vessels of burden. Of all countries which have come within my observation, this is far the most fruitful in corn. Fruit-trees, such as the vine, the olive, and the fig,

1 These were very celebrated. The ancients in general believed them to be produced from tigers. The first and second race they deem to be remarkably fierce; they bring up also the third.—*Larcher*.

2 The Euphrates occasionally overflows its banks, but its inundations do not, like those of the Nile, communicate fertility. The streams of the Euphrates and the Tigris do not, *says Pliny,* leave behind them the mud which the Nile does *in Egypt.—Larcher*.

they do not even attempt to cultivate; but the soil is so particularly well adapted for corn, that it never produces less than two hundred fold; in seasons which are remarkably favorable, it will sometimes rise to three hundred: the ear of their wheat as well as barley is four digits in size. The immense height to which millet and sesamum[1] will grow, although I have witnessed it myself, I know not how to mention. I am well aware that they who have not visited this country will deem whatever I may say on the subject a violation of probability. They have no oil but what they extract from the sesamum. The palm is a very common plant in this country, and generally fruitful: this they cultivate like fig-trees, and it produces them bread, wine, and honey. The process observed is this: they fasten the fruit of that which the Greeks term the male tree to the one which produces the date; by this means the worm which is contained in the former entering the fruit, ripens and prevents it from dropping immaturely. The male palms bear insects in their fruit, in the same manner as the wild fig-trees.

CXCIV. Of all that I saw in this country, next to Babylon itself, what to me appeared the greatest curiosity, were the boats. These, which are used by those who come to the city, are of a circular form, and made of skins. They are constructed in Armenia, in the

1 Of this plant there are three species; the orientale, the indicum, and the trifelictum: it is the first which is here meant. It is an annual herbaceous plant; its flowers are of a dirty white, and not unlike the fox-glove; it is cultivated in the Levant as a pulse, and indeed in all the eastern countries; it has of late years been introduced into Carolina, and with success: an oil is expressed from its seed; it is the seed which is eaten; they are first parched over the fire, and then stewed with other ingredients in water.—T.

parts above Assyria, where the sides of the vessels being formed of willow,[1] are covered externally with skins, and having no distinction of head or stern, are modelled into the shape of a shield. Lining the bottoms of these boats with reeds, they take on board their merchandise, and thus commit themselves to the stream. The principal article of their commerce is palm-wine, which they carry in casks. The boats have two oars, one man to each; one pulls to him, the other pushes from him. These boats are of very different dimensions; some of them are so large as to bear freights to the value of five thousand talents: the smaller of them has one ass on board; the larger, several. On their arrival at Babylon, they dispose of all their cargo, selling the ribs of their boats, the matting, and every thing but the skins which cover them; these they lay on their asses, and with them return to Armenia. The rapidity of the stream is too great to render their return by water practicable. This is perhaps the reason which induces them to make their boats of skin, rather than of wood. On their return with their asses to Armenia they make other vessels in the manner we have before described.

CXCV. Their clothing is of this kind: they have two vests, one of linen, which falls to the feet, another over this which is made of wool; a white sash connects the whole. The fashion of their shoes[2] is pecu-

1 The bending willow into barks they twine,
Then line the work with skins of slaughter'd kine;
Such are the floats Venetian fishers know,
Where in dull marshes stands the settling Po:
On such to neighboring Gaul, allured by gain,
The bolder Britons cross the swelling main.
Like these, when fruitful Egypt lies afloat,
The Memphian artist builds his reedy boat.
Rowe's Lucan.

2 The Bœotian shoes were made of wood, and came up

liar to themselves, though somewhat resembling those worn by the Thebans. Their hair they wear long, and covered with a turban, and are lavish in their use of perfumes. Each person has a seal-ring, and a cane, or walking-stick, on the top of which is carved an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle, or some figure or other; for to have a stick without a device is unlawful.

CXCVI. In my description of their laws, I have to mention one, the wisdom of which I must admire; and which, if I am not misinformed, the Eneti, who are of Illyrian origin, use also. In each of their several districts this custom was every year observed: such of their virgins as were marriageable were at an appointed time and place assembled together. Here the men also came, and some public officer sold by auction the young women one by one, beginning with the most beautiful. When she was disposed of, and as may be supposed for a considerable sum, he proceeded to sell the one who was next in beauty, taking it for granted that each man married the maid he purchased. The more affluent of the Babylonian youths contended with much ardor and emulation to obtain the most beautiful; those of the common people who were desirous of marrying, as if they had but

part of the leg. The dresses for the feet and legs amongst the Greeks and Romans were nearly the same: they had both shoes and sandals; the former covered the whole foot, the last consisted of one or more soles, and were fastened with thongs above the foot. In the simplicity of primitive manners the feet were only protected by raw hides. It is said in Dion Cassius that Julius Cæsar gave offence at Rome by wearing high-heeled shoes of a red color. The shoes of the Roman senators were distinguished by a crescent. A particular form of shoe or sandal was appropriated to the army; and a description of thirty different kinds, as used by the Romans and such nations as they deemed barbarous, may be found in Montfaucon.—*T.*

little occasion for personal accomplishments content to receive the more homely maidens, portion annexed to them: for the crier, when sold the fairest, selected also the most ugly, that was deformed; she also was put up to sa assigned to whoever would take her with th money. This money was what the sale of the be maidens produced, who were thus obliged to p out those who were deformed, or less lovel themselves. No man was permitted to pro match for his daughter, nor could any on away the woman whom he purchased withou giving security to make her his wife. To this did not assent his money was returned him. were no restrictions with respect to residence; of another village might also become purcl This, although the most wise of all their instit has not been preserved to our time. One o later ordinances was to punish violence offe women, and to prevent their being carried aw other parts; for after the city had been taken, a inhabitants plundered, the lower people were re to great extremities.

CXCVII. They have also another institutio good tendency of which claims our applause. S are diseased[1] among them they carry into some square: they have no professors of medicine; b passengers in general interrogate the sick person cerning his malady; that if any person has been afflicted with a similar disorder himself, or

1 We may from hence observe the first rude comm ment of the science of medicine. Syrianus is of opini *this science* originated in Egypt, from those persons w *been disordered* in any part of their bodies writing do *remedies from* which they received benefit.—Larche

its operation on another, he may communicate the process by which his own recovery was effected, or by which, in any other instance, he knew the disease to be removed. No one may pass by the afflicted person in silence, or without inquiry into the nature of his complaint.

CXCVIII. Previous to their interment, their dead are anointed with honey, and like the Egyptians, they are fond of funeral lamentations. Whenever a man marries, he sits over a consecrated vessel, containing burning perfumes; the woman does the same. In the morning both of them go into the bath; till after which application they will neither of them touch any domestic utensil. This custom is also observed in Arabia.

CXCIX. The Babylonians have one custom in the highest degree abominable. Every woman who is a native of the country is obliged once in her life to attend at the temple of Venus, Such women as are of superior rank do not omit even this opportunity of separating themselves from their inferiors; these go to the temple in splendid chariots, accompanied by a numerous train of domestics, and place themselves near the entrance. This is the practice with many; whilst the greater part, crowned with garlands, seat themselves in the vestibule; and there are always numbers coming and going. The seats have all of them a rope or string annexed to them, by which each stranger may determine his choice. A woman having once taken this situation, is not allowed to return home till some stranger throws her a piece of money, and leads her to a distance from the temple. It is usual for the man, when he *gives the* money, to say, 'May the *goddess Mylitta be* auspicious to thee!' Mylitta being *the Assyrian name* of Venus. The money given is

applied to sacred uses, and must not be refused, however small it may be. The woman is not suffered to make any distinction. She afterwards makes some conciliatory oblation to the goddess, and returns to her house, never afterwards to be subjected to similar forms. Such as are eminent for their elegance and beauty do not continue long, but those who are of less engaging appearance have sometimes been known to remain from three to four years, unable to accomplish the terms of the law. It is to be remarked that the inhabitants of Cyprus have a similar observance.

CC. In addition to the foregoing account of Babylonian manners, we may observe, that there are three tribes of this people whose only food is fish. They prepare it thus: having dried it in the sun, they beat it very small in a mortar, and afterwards sift it through a piece of fine cloth; they then form it into cakes, or bake it as bread.

CCI. After his conquest of this people Cyrus extended his ambitious views to the Massagetæ, a great and powerful nation, whose territories extend beyond the river Araxes to the extreme parts of the East. They are opposite to the Issedonians, and are by some esteemed a Scythian nation.

CCII. Concerning the magnitude of the Araxes there are various representations; some pronouncing it less, others greater, than the Danube. There are many islands scattered up and down in it, some of which are nearly equal to Lesbos in extent. The people who inhabit these subsist during the summer on such roots as they dig out of the earth, preserving for their winter's provision the ripe produce of their fruit-trees. They have amongst them a tree whose fruit has a most singular property. Assembled round a fire,

which they make for this purpose, they throw into the midst of it the above fruit, and the same inebriation is communicated to them from the smell as the Greeks experience from excess of wine. As they become more exhilarated, they throw on a greater quantity of fruit, and are at length so far transported as to leap up, dance, and sing. This is what I have heard of the customs of this people. The Araxes, like the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into three hundred and sixty rivulets, rises among the Matienian hills. It separates itself into forty mouths,[1] all of which, except one, lose themselves in bogs and marshes, among which a people are said to dwell who feed on raw fish, and clothe themselves with the skins of sea-calves. The larger stream of the Araxes continues its even course to the Caspian.

CCIII. The Caspian is an ocean by itself, and communicates with no other. The sea frequented by the Greeks, the Red Sea, and that beyond the Pillars, called the Atlantic, are all one ocean. The Caspian forms one unconnected sea: a swift-oared boat would in fifteen days measure its length, its extreme breadth in eight. It is bounded on the west by Mount Caucasus, the largest and perhaps the highest mountain in the world. Caucasus is inhabited by various nations,[2] many of whom are said to subsist on what the soil spontaneously produces. They have trees whose leaves possess a most singular property: they beat

1 What Herodotus says of the Araxes is in a great measure true of the Volga, which empties itself into the Caspian by a number of channels in which many considerable islands are scattered. But this river does not, nor indeed can it come from the Matienian mountains.—*Larcher.*

2 Of *these the principal* were the Colchians, of the excellent *produce and circumstances* of whose country a minute *and entertaining account* is given by Strabo.—T.

them to powder, and then steep them in water: this forms a dye,[1] with which they paint on their garments figures of animals. The impression is so very strong that it cannot be washed out; it appears to be interwoven in the cloth, and wears as long as the garment. The sexes live promiscuously, like brutes.

CCIV. Caucasus terminates that part of the Caspian which extends to the west: it is bounded on the east by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which forms the country of the Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus meditated an attack. He was invited and urged by many strong incentives. When he considered the peculiar circumstances of his birth, he believed himself more than human. He reflected also on the prosperity of his arms, and that wherever he had extended his incursions he had been followed by success and victory.

CCV. The Massagetæ were then governed by a queen: she was a widow, and her name Tomyris. Cyrus sent ambassadors to her with overtures of marriage: the queen, concluding that his real object was the possession, not of her person, but her kingdom, forbade his approach. Cyrus, on finding these measures ineffectual advanced to the Araxes, openly discovering his hostile designs on the Massagetæ. He accordingly threw a bridge of boats over the river for the passage of his forces, which he also fortified with turrets.

CCVI. Whilst he was engaged in this difficult undertaking Tomyris sent by her ambassadors this message: 'Sovereign of the Medes! uncertain as you must be of the event, we advise you to desist from

1 *By the* discovery of cochineal we far surpass the colors *of antiquity.* Their royal purple had a strong smell, and a *dark cast,* as deep as bull's blood.

your present purpose. Be satisfied with the dominion of your own kingdom, and suffer us to retain what is certainly our own. You will not, however, listen to this salutary counsel, loving any thing rather than peace: if, then, you are really impatient to encounter the Massagetæ, give up your present labor of constructing a bridge; we will retire three days' march into our country, and you shall pass over at your leisure; or, if you had rather receive us in your own territories, do you as much for us.' On hearing this Cyrus called a council of his principal officers, and laying the matter before them, desired their advice how to act. They were unanimously of opinion that he should retire, and expect Tomyris in his own dominions.

CCVII. Crœsus the Lydian, who assisted at the meeting, was of a different sentiment, which he defended in this manner: 'I have before remarked, O king! that since Providence has rendered me your captive it becomes me to exert all my abilities in obviating whatever menaces you with misfortune. I have been instructed in the severe but useful school of adversity. If you were immortal yourself, and commanded an army of immortals, my advice might be justly thought impertinent; but if you confess yourself a human leader of forces that are human, it becomes you to remember that sublunary events have a circular motion, and that their revolution does not permit the same man always to be fortunate. On this present subject of debate I dissent from the majority. If you await the enemy in your own dominions, a a defeat may chance to lose you all your empire; the victorious Massagetæ, instead of retreating to their own, will make farther inroad into your territories. If you shall conquer, you will still be a loser by that

interval of time and place which must be nece
employed in the pursuit. I will suppose tha
victory you will instantly advance into the dom
of Tomyris; yet can Cyrus the son of Cam
without disgrace and infamy, retire one foot of g
from a female adversary? I would therefore r
mend that having passed over with our army, w
ceed on our march till we meet the enemy; t
us contend for victory and honor. I have be
formed the Massagetæ lead a life of the m
poverty, ignorant of Persian fare, of Persian
cacies. Let these therefore be left behind i
camp: let there be abundance of food prepared,
viands, and flowing goblets of wine. With th
us leave the less effective of the troops, and w
rest again retire towards the river. If I err n
foe will be allured by the sight of our luxuriou
parations, and afford us a noble occasion of v
and glory.'

CCVIII. The result of the debate was, that
preferred the sentiments of Crœsus: he theref
turned for answer to Tomyris that he would a
the space into her dominions which she had pro
She was faithful to her engagement, and retir
cordingly. Cyrus then formally delegated h
thority to his son Cambyses:[1] and above all, r
mended Crœsus to his care, as one whom

CCIX. As soon as he had advanced beyond the Araxes into the land of the Massagetæ, he saw in the night this vision: he beheld the eldest son of Hystaspes having wings on his shoulders; one of which overshadowed Asia, the other Europe. Hystaspes was the son of Arsamis, of the family of the Achæmenides; the name of his eldest son was Darius, a youth of about twenty, who had been left behind in Persia as not yet of an age for military service. Cyrus awoke, and revolved the matter in his mind: as it appeared to him of serious importance, he sent for Hystaspes to his presence, and dismissing his attendants, 'Hystaspes,' said the king, 'I will explain to you my reasons why I am satisfied beyond all dispute that your son is now engaged in seditious designs against me and my authority. The gods, whose favor I enjoy, disclose to me all those events which menace my security. In the night just passed I beheld your eldest son having wings on his shoulders, one of which overshadowed Asia, the other Europe; from which I draw certain conclusions that he is engaged in acts of treachery against me. Do you therefore return instantly to Persia, and take care that when I return victorious from my present expedition your son may give me a satisfactory explanation of his conduct.'

CCX. The strong apprehension of the treachery of Darius induced Cyrus thus to address the father; but the vision in reality imported that the death of Cyrus was at hand, and that Darius should succeed to his power. 'Far be it, O king!' said Hystaspes in reply, 'from any man of Persian origin to form conspiracies against his sovereign: if such there be, let immediate death be his portion. You have raised the Persians from slavery to freedom; from subjects, you have

made them masters: if a vision has informed you that my son designs any thing against you to you and to your disposal I shall deliver him.' Hystaspes after this interview passed the Araxes on his return to Persia, fully intending to watch over his son, and deliver him to Cyrus.

CCXI. Cyrus, advancing a day's march from the Araxes, followed in all respects the counsel of Crœsus; and leaving behind him the troops on which he had least dependence, he returned with his choicest men towards the Araxes. A detachment of about the third part of the army of the Massagetæ attacked the Persians whom Cyrus had left, and after a feeble conflict put them to the sword. When the slaughter ceased they observed the luxuries which had artfully been prepared; and yielding to the allurement, they indulged themselves in feasting and wine till drunkenness and sleep overcame them. In this situation the Persians attacked them: several were slain, but the greater part were made prisoners, among whom was Spargapises, their leader, the son of Tomyris.

CCXII. As soon as the queen heard of the defeat of her forces, and the capture of her son, she despatched a messenger to Cyrus with these words: 'Cyrus, insatiable as you are of blood, be not too elate with your recent success. When you yourself are overcome with wine, what follies do you not commit? By entering your bodies, it renders your language more insulting. By this poison you have conquered my son, and neither by your prudence nor your valor. I venture a second time to advise what it will be certainly your interest to follow. Restore my son to liberty, and satisfied with the disgrace you have put on a third part of the Massagetæ, depart from these realms unhurt. If you will not do this,

: by the Sun, the great god of the Massagetæ,
isatiable as you are of blood, I will give you
l of it.'

:III. These words made but little impression
:us. The son of Tomyris, when, recovering
is inebriated state, he knew the misfortune
had befallen him, entreated Cyrus to release
om his bonds: he obtained his liberty, and im-
ely destroyed himself.

:IV. On the refusal of Cyrus to listen to her
l, Tomyris collected all her forces: a battle
, and of all the conflicts which ever took place
it the barbarians, this was I believe by far the
bstinately disputed. According to such parti-
is I have been able to collect, the engagement
by a shower of arrows poured on both sides,
i interval of some distance; when these were
it, they fought with their swords and spears,
a long time neither party gained the smallest
ige: the Massagetæ were at length victorious,
iater part of the Persians were slain; Cyrus
' also fell; and thus terminated a reign of
-nine years. When after diligent search his
ras found, Tomyris directed his head to be
into a vessel filled with human blood, and
insulted and mutilated the dead body, ex
., 'Survivor and conqueror as I am, thou hast
my peace by thy successful stratagem against
; but I will give thee now, as I threatened,
of blood.'—This account of the end of Cyrus
o me most consistent with probability, although
:e many other and different relations.[1]

ophon makes Cyrus die peaceably in his bed; Strabo

CCXV. The Massagetæ in their clothes and food resemble the Scythians: they fight on horseback and on foot, and are both ways formidable. They have spears, arrows, and battle-axes. They make much use both of gold and brass. Their spears, the points of their arrows, and their battle-axes, are made of brass; their helmets, their belts, and their breastplates are decorated with gold. They bind also a plate of brass on the chests of their horses, whose reins, bits, and other harness, are plated with gold. They use neither iron nor silver, which indeed their country does not produce, though it abounds with gold and brass.

CCXVI. Concerning their manners we have to observe, that though each man marries but one wife, she does not always remain with her husband: for what the Greeks assert in general of the Scythians, is true only of the Massagetæ. When a man of this country wishes to be introduced to a woman, he hangs up his quiver before his waggon. To speak of the number of years to which they live is impossible. As soon as any one becomes infirm through age, his assembled relations put him to death,[1] boiling along with

inclines to this opinion; Lucian makes him live beyond the age of a hundred.—*Larcher.*

The Massagetæ are by some authors confounded with the Scythians. Diodorus Siculus calls Tomyris queen of the Scythians.—*Larcher.*

1 Hellanicus, speaking of the Hyperboreans, who live beyond the Rhipean mountains, observes, that they learn justice, that they do not eat meat, but live intirely on fruit. Those of sixty years they carry out of the town and put to death. Timæus says that in Sardinia, when a man has passed the age of seventy years, his sons, in honor of Saturn, and *with seeming* satisfaction, beat his brains out with clubs, *and throw* him from some frightful precipice. The inhabi-

the body the flesh of sheep and other animals, on which they feast; esteeming universally this mode of death the happiest. Of those who die from any disease they never eat: they bury them in the earth, and esteem their fate a matter to be lamented, because they have not lived to be sacrificed. They sow no grain, but intirely subsist on cattle, and on the fish which the river Araxes abundantly supplies; milk also constitutes a part of their diet. They sacrifice horses [1] to the sun, their only deity, thinking it right to offer the swiftest of mortal animals to the swiftest of immortal beings.

tants of Iulis, in the isle of Ceos, oblige those who are past the age of sixty years to drink hemlock, &c.

This custom, so contrary to our manners, will doubtless appear fabulous to those who are no friends to antiquity, and whose judgments are regulated intirely by modern manners. It is practised nevertheless at the present day in the kingdom of Aracan: the inhabitants of this country accelerate the death of their friends and relations, when they see them afflicted by a painful old age, or incurable disease; it is with them an act of piety.—*Larcher*.

1 This was a very ancient custom: it was practised in Persia in the time of Cyrus, and was probably anterior to that prince. Horses were also sacrificed to Neptune and the deities of the rivers, being precipitated into the sea or into rivers.

Sextus Pompeius threw into the sea horses and live oxen in honor of Neptune, whose son he professed himself to be. —*Larcher*.

BOOK II.—EUTERPE.

CHAP. I. CAMBYSES the son of Cyrus, by Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, succeeded his father. The wife of Cyrus had died before him; he had lamented her loss himself with the sincerest grief, and commanded all his subjects to exhibit public marks of sorrow. Cambyses thus descended, considered the Ionians and Æolians as his slaves by right of inheritance: he undertook therefore an expedition against Egypt, and assembled an army for this purpose, composed as well of his other subjects as of those Greeks who acknowleged his authority.

II. Before the reign of their king Psammitichus the Egyptians esteemed themselves the most ancient of the human race; but when this prince came to the throne he took considerable pains to investigate the truth of this matter: the result was, that they believe the Phrygians more ancient than themselves, and themselves than the rest of mankind. Whilst Psammitichus was engaged in this inquiry he contrived the following as the most effectual means of removing his perplexity. He procured two children just born, of humble parentage, and gave them to a shepherd to be brought up among his flocks. He was ordered never to speak before them; to place them in a sequestered hut, and at proper intervals to bring them goats, whose milk they might suck whilst he was attending to other employments. His object was to know what word they would first pronounce articulately. The experiment succeeded to his wish; the shepherd complied with each particular of his directions, and at the

nd of two years, on his one day opening the door of heir apartment, both the children extended their arms owards him, as if in supplication, and pronounced the rord Becos.[1] It did not at first excite his attention, ut on their repeating the same expression whenever e appeared, he related the circumstance to his master, nd at his command brought the children to his preence. When Psammitichus had heard them repeat his same word, he endeavored to discover among what eople it was in use: he found it was the Phrygian ame for bread.[2] From seriously revolving this incient, the Egyptians were induced to allow the Phryians to be of greater antiquity than themselves.

III. That this was really done, I myself heard at Iemphis from the priests of Vulcan. The Greeks, mong other idle tales, relate that Psammitichus gave he children to be nursed by women whose tongues rere previously cut out. During my residence at Iemphis the same priests informed me of many other urious particulars: but to be better satisfied how well he narrative which I have given on their authority ras supported, I made it my business to visit Thebes nd Heliopolis, the inhabitants of which latter place re deemed the most ingenious of all the Egyptians. Except to specify the names of their divinities, I hall be unwilling to mention their religious customs, nless my subject demand it; this being a matter conerning which men in general are equally well informed.

IV. In all which they related of human affairs, they

1 These infants in all probability pronounced the word bec, the cry of the animals which they imitated, os being a ermination appropriate to the Greek language.—Larcher.

2 *Hipponax, speaking of the people of Cyrus, uses this ord as signifying bread.—Larcher.*

were uniform and consistent with each other: they agree that the Egyptians first defined the measure of the year, which they divided into twelve parts; in this they affirm the stars to have been their guides. Their mode of computation is in my opinion more sagacious than that of the Greeks, who for the sake of adjusting the seasons accurately add every third year an intercalary month. The Egyptians divide their year into twelve months, giving to each month thirty days: by adding five days to every year they have an uniform revolution of time. The people of this country first invented the names of the twelve gods, and from them the Grecians borrowed them. They were the first also who erected altars, shrines, and temples; and none before them ever engraved the figures of animals on stone; the truth of all which they sufficiently authenticate. The name of their first king was Menes,[1] in whose reign the whole of Egypt, except the province of Thebes, was one extended marsh. No part of all that district which is now situate beyond the lake of Mœris was then to be seen, the distance between which lake and the sea is a journey of seven days.

V. The account which they give of their country appears just and reasonable. It must be obvious to the inspection of any one of common sagacity, even though he knew it not before, that the part of Egypt to which the Greeks now sail, formerly constituted a part of the bed of the river;[2] which thing may always

1 Diodorus Siculus agrees with Herodotus in making Menes reign in Egypt immediately after the gods and the heroes.—*Larcher.*

2 This sentiment was adopted by all the ancients, and a great part of the moderns. If it be true, all the country from Memphis to the sea must have been formerly a gulf of the Mediterranean parallel to the Arabian gulf. The mud must

be observed of all that tract of country beyond the lake, to pass over which would employ a journey of three days; but this the Egyptians themselves do not assert. Of this fact there exists another proof: if from a vessel bound to Egypt the lead be thrown at the distance of a day's sailing from the shore,[1] it will come up the depth of eleven fathoms covered with mud, plainly indicating that it was brought there by the water.

VI. According to our limitation of Egypt, which is from the bay of Plinthene to Lake Serbonis, near Mount Casius, the whole extent of the coast is sixty schœni.[2] It may not be improper to remark that they who have smaller portions of land measure them by orgyiæ, they who have larger by stadia, such as have considerable tracts by parasangs. The schœnus, which

have been raised up by little and little from a deposit of the mud which the waters of the Nile carry away with them.—*Larcher*.

1 For seven or eight leagues from the land they know by the sounding plummet if they are near Egypt, as within that distance it brings up the black slimy mud of the Nile that settles at the bottom of the sea, which is often of great use in navigation, the low land of this country not being seen afar off.—*Pococke*.

The majority of travellers inform us that on an average the water usually rises every year to the height of twenty-two cubits. In 1702 it rose to twenty-three cubits four inches; in the year preceding it rose to twenty-two cubits eighteen inches: according to these travellers, the favorable height is from twenty-two to twenty-three cubits; according to Herodotus, from fifteen to sixteen. The difference is seven.—*Larcher*.

2 The Greeks, whose territories were not extensive, measured them by stadia: the Persians, whose region was still greater, used parasangs. The Egyptians, whose country was more spacious than Persia, properly so called, applied in their mensuration schœni. Herodotus, when he observes that this last is *an Egyptian* measure, indirectly informs us that *the stadium and parasang* were not there used.—Larcher.

is an Egyptian measure, used in the mensuration of more extensive domains, is equivalent to sixty stadia, as the parasang is to thirty. Agreeably to such mode of computation, the coast of Egypt towards the sea is in length three thousand six hundred stadia.

VII. From hence inland to Heliopolis,[1] the country of Egypt is a spacious plain, which, though without water, and on a declivity, is a rich and slimy[2] soil. The distance betwixt Heliopolis and the sea is nearly the same as from the altar of the twelve deities,[3] at Athens, to the shrine of Jupiter Olympus at Pisa. Whoever will be at the trouble to ascertain this point, will not find the difference to exceed fifteen stadia: the distance from Pisa to Athens wants precisely fifteen stadia of one thousand five hundred, which is the exact number of stadia betwixt Heliopolis and the sea.

VIII. From Heliopolis to the higher parts of Egypt[4] the country becomes more narrow, and is confined on one part by a long chain of Arabian mountains, which from the north stretch south and south-west in a re-

1 Now called Matanea. It was probably the On of the Scriptures, and, according to Strabo, celebrated for the worship of the sun. There are but inconsiderable remains of this city.—*T.*

There were in Egypt two cities of this name.—*T.*

2 The soil of Egypt, except what it has received from the overflowings of the Nile, is naturally sandy. It is full of nitre or salt, which occasions nitrous vapors, making the nights cold and dangerous. It is this and the rich quality of the earth, which is the sediment of the water of the Nile, which makes Egypt so fertile, that sometimes they are obliged to temper the rich soil by bringing sand to it.—*Pococke.*

3 This was in the Pythic place of Athens. Pisistratus, son of Hippias the tyrant, dedicated it to the twelve gods when he was archon.—*Larcher.*

4 *Egypt,* in proportion as it recedes from the Mediterranean, is regularly elevated.—Larcher.

gular inclination to the Red Sea. The pyramids of Memphis[1] were built with stones drawn from these mountains, which from hence have a winding direction towards the places we have before described. I have been informed, that to travel along this range of hills, from east to west, which is the extreme length of the country, will employ a space of two months: they add that the eastern parts abound in aromatics. On that side of Egypt which lies towards Libya there is another steep and sandy mountain, in which certain pyramids have been erected: this extends itself like those Arabian hills which stretch towards the south. Thus the country beyond Heliopolis differs exceedingly from the rest of Egypt, and may be passed in a journey of four days. The intermediate space betwixt these mountains is an open plain, in its narrowest part not more in extent than two hundred stadia, measuring from the Arabian to what is called the Libyan mountain, from whence Egypt becomes again wider.

IX. From Heliopolis to Thebes[2] is a voyage of

1 The description here given by Herodotus is confirmed by Norden and by Savary.—*T.*

2 According to Norden, ancient Thebes was probably in the place where Luxor and Carnac now stand. A better idea of the magnificence and extent of Thebes cannot perhaps be given than by the following lines translated from Homer:

> Not all proud Thebes' unrivall'd walls contain,
> The world's great empress on the Egyptian plain,
> That spreads her conquests o'er a thousand states,
> And pours her heroes through a hundred gates;
> Two hundred horsemen, and two hundred cars,
> From each wide portal issuing to the wars.—*Pope.*

Diodorus Siculus and Strabo both speak in the most exalted terms of its opulence and power. 'Never was there a city,' observes the former of these writers, 'which received so *many offerings in silver*, gold, ivory, colossal statues, and *obelisks.*' There were in particular four temples greatly ad-

about nine days, or a space of four thousand eight hundred and sixty stadia, equivalent to eighty-one schœni. I have before observed that the length of the Egyptian coast is three thousand six hundred stadia; from the coast to Thebes is six thousand one hundred and twenty stadia; from Thebes to Elephantine[1] eight hundred and twenty.

X. The greater part of the country described above, as I was informed by the priests, (and my own observation induced me to be of the same opinion,) has been a gradual acquisition to the inhabitants. The country above Memphis, between the hills before mentioned, seems formerly to have been an arm of the sea, and is not unlike the region about Ilium, Teuthrania, Ephesus, and the plain of the Meander, if we may be allowed to compare small things with great. It must certainly be allowed that none of the streams which water the above country may in depth or in magnitude compare with any one of the five arms of the Nile. I could mention other rivers, which, though inferior to the Nile, have produced many wonderful effects; of these, the river Achelous[2] is by no means

mired. Near this place stood the celebrated vocal statue of Memnon. Its eastern part only was called Diospolis, according to Pococke. This writer, without citing his authority, remarks, that in the opinion of some writers, Thebes was the Sheba of the Scriptures; and that the Greeks, having no way of writing this word, altered it to Thebai.—*T.*

1 Is now called Ell-Sag. In this place was a temple of Cnuphis, and a nilometer.—*T.*

When Herodotus speaks of the length of Egypt, he reckons from the Sebennitic mouth.—*Larcher.*

2 This river, from its violence and rapidity, was anciently called Thoas. Homer calls it the king of rivers. Its present name is Aspro Potamo. Hercules, by checking the inundations of this river by mounds, was said to have broken off one of his horns; whence the cornucopia.—T.

The sea and the continent may be considered as two great

the least considerable. This flows through Acarnania, and losing itself in the sea which washes the Echinades,[1] has connected one half of those islands with the continent.

XI. In Arabia, at no great distance from Egypt, there is a long but narrow bay, diverging from the Red Sea, which I shall more minutely describe. Its extreme length, from the straits where it commences to where it communicates with the main, will employ a bark with oars a voyage of forty days, but its breadth in the widest parts may be sailed over in half a day. In this bay the tide daily ebbs and flows; and I conceive that Egypt itself was a gulf formerly of similar appearance, and that, issuing from the Northern Ocean, it extended itself towards Ethiopia; in the same manner the Arabian one so described, rising in the south, flowed towards Syria; and that the two were only separated from each other by a small neck of land. If the Nile should by any means have an issue into the Arabian gulf, in the course of twenty thousand years it might be totally choked up with earth brought there by the passage of the river. I am of opinion that this might take place even within ten thousand years: why then might not a gulf still greater than this be choked up with mud in the space of time

empires, whose places are fixed, but which sometimes dispute the possession of some of the smaller adjacent countries. Sometimes the sea is compelled to contract its limits by the mud and the sands which the rivers force along with them; sometimes these limits are extended by the action of the waters of the ocean.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*

1 These islands, according to the old Greek historians, are so close on the coast of Elis, that many of them had been joined to it by means of the Achelous, which still continues to connect *them with* the continent by the rubbish which *that river deposits* at its mouth, as I have had an opportunity *of observing.—Wood on Homer.*

which has passed before our age, by a stream so and powerful as the Nile?

XII. All therefore that I heard from the n concerning Egypt was confirmed by my own ob tions. I remarked also that this country gains region which it joins; that shells[1] are found c mountains; and that an acrid matter[2] exudes the soil, which has proved injurious even to th ramids;[3] and that the only mountain in Egypt produces sand is the one situate above Mer Neither does Egypt possess the smallest reseml to Arabia, on which it borders, nor to Liby Syria, for the sea-coast of Arabia is possess

1 It is very certain that shells are found on the mou of Egypt, but this by no means proves the existence Egyptian gulf. Shells also are found on mountains higher than those of Egypt, in Europe, Asia, and An This only proves that all those regions have in par covered by the waters of the sea; some at one time an at another. I say in part, because it is certain, from t servation of the most skilful naturalists, that the h mountains have not been covered with water. These, times of such general inundations, appeared like so islands.—*Larcher.*

2 In every part of Egypt, on digging, a brackish w found, containing natrum, marine salt, and a little Even when the gardens are overflowed for the sake of ing them, the surface of the ground, after the evap and absorption of the water, appears glazed over with

3 Mr. Norden informs us that the stones of the gre

Syrians. It has a black and crumbling soil, composed of such substances as the river in its course brings down from Ethiopia. The soil of Africa we know to be red and sandy; and the earth, both of Arabia and Syria, is strong and mixed with clay.

XIII. The information of the priests confirmed the account which I have already given of this country. In the reign of Mœris, as soon as the river rose to eight cubits, all the lands above Memphis were overflowed; since which a period of about nine hundred years has elapsed: but at present, unless the river rises to sixteen, or at least fifteen cubits, its waters do not reach those lands. If the ground should continue to elevate itself as it has hitherto done, by the river's receding from it, the Egyptians below the lake Mœris, and those who inhabit the Delta, will be reduced to the same perplexity which they themselves affirm menaces the Greeks: for as they understand that Greece is fertilised and refreshed by rain, and not by rivers like their own, they predict that the inhabitants, trusting to their usual supplies, will probably suffer[1] the miseries of famine; meaning, that as they have no resource, and only such water as the clouds supply, they must inevitably perish if disappointed of rain at the proper seasons.

XIV. Such being the not unreasonable prejudice of the Egyptians with respect to Greece, let us inquire how they themselves are circumstanced. If, as I be-

1 It follows therefore that the Egyptians had no knowlege of those seven years of famine which afflicted their country during the administration of Joseph. These however were the more remarkable, as occasioning an intire change in the constitution of the state. The people at first gave their gold and their silver to the prince in exchange for corn; they *afterwards resigned* to him their flocks and their herds, and *ultimately became* his slaves.—*Larcher*.

fore remarked, the country below Memphis, wl
that where the water has receded, should progre
from the same cause continue to extend itse
Egyptians who inhabit it might have still juster
hensions of suffering from famine: for in th
their lands, which are never fertilised by rain,
not receive benefit from the overflowings of the
The people who possess that district, of all ma
and even of all the Egyptians, enjoy the fruits
earth with the smallest labor. They have no o
for the process nor the instruments of agricultur
and necessary in other countries. As soon as th
has spread itself over their lands and returne
bed, each man scatters the seed over his grou
waits patiently for the harvest, without any oth
than that of turning some swine[2] into the fi
tread down the grain. These are at the proper

1 In Upper Egypt they have sometimes a little ra
I was told that in eight years it had been known to
twice very hard for about half an hour.—*Pococke.*

2 Plutarch, Eudoxus, and Pliny, relate the san
Valckenaer does not hesitate to consider it a fable i
by Herodotus; and the sagacious Wesseling seems
the same opinion, though he has not rejected the exp
Gale, not thinking swine adapted to tread down th
has substituted oxen, because in Hesychius and Pha
the word *us* seems to signify an ox. They are at
made use of in some of our provinces to find out t
with a kind of muzzle to prevent their devouring the

again let loose to shake the corn from the ear, which is then gathered.

XV. If we follow the tradition of the Ionians, it will appear that all which may be properly denominated Egypt is limited to the Delta. This region, from the watch-tower erected by Perseus, extends along the coast to the salt-pits of Pelusium, to the length of forty schœni. From the coast inland it stretches to the city of Cercasora, where the Nile divides itself into two branches; one of which is termed Pelusium, the other Canopus. Of the rest of Egypt, they affirm that part of it belongs to Libya, and part to Arabia; which, if it be true, we shall be obliged to conclude that formerly the Egyptians had no country at all. The Delta, as they assert themselves, and as I myself was convinced by observation, is still liable to be overflowed, and was formerly covered with water.[1] Under these circumstances their curiosity to examine whether they were the most ancient of the human race[2] must seem preposterous, and their experiment of the two children to discover what language they should first speak, was absurd and unnecessary. For my own part, I am of opinion that the Egyptians did not commence their origin with the Delta, but from the first existence of the human race. That as their country became more extensive some remained in their primi-

1 Diodorus Siculus is also of opinion that Egypt formerly was one extended sea, and that the land was formed by the mud brought down from Ethiopia by the Nile.—*T.*

2 Diodorus Siculus informs us that the Ethiopians consider the Egyptians as one of their colonies, at the head of which was Osiris. He observes also in another place that the inhabitants of the Thebaid consider themselves as the most ancient of *mankind. This historian* doubtless has a view to the *traditions of the* two people, without giving us his own opinion.—*Larcher.*

tive places of residence, whilst others migrat lower situation. Hence it was that Thebes, com a tract of land which is six thousand one hund twenty stadia in circumference, went formerl the name of Egypt.

XVI. If our opinion concerning Egypt be tr of the Ionians must certainly be wrong; if, contrary, the Ionians are right in their conjec will not be difficult to prove the Greeks, not ex the Ionians, mistaken in their account of the ea which they affirm that Europe, Asia, and Liby stitute the proper division; but if the Delta neither to Asia nor Africa, it makes by itself n rily a fourth and distinct portion of the glob according to the above mode of reasoning, th cannot completely form the division between A Africa; at the extremity of the Delta it is se into two branches, and the country lying betwe not properly belong either to Asia or Africa.

XVII. Avoiding farther comment on the sen of the Ionians, I myself am of opinion that tract of country inhabited by Egyptians is p called Egypt, as the countries inhabited by th cians and Assyrians are respectively denominat cia and Assyria: and I must think that the l Egypt alone constitutes the natural and proper of Asia and Africa. If we adhere to the opini ceived amongst the Greeks, we are to consid whole of Egypt commencing from the catara the city Elephantine as divided into two part distinct appellations; the one belonging to Lib other to Asia: the Nile, beginning at the ca flows through the centre of Egypt, and emptie into the sea. As far as the city Cercasora it p in one undivided channel, but it there separa

into three branches; that which directs itself towards the east is called the Pelusian mouth, the Canopic inclines to the west; the third in one continued line meets the point of the Delta, which dividing in two, it finally pours itself into the sea; this arm is equally celebrated, and not inferior in the depth of its waters: it is called the Sebennitic mouth; and this again divides itself into two branches; one is called the Saitic, and one the Mendesian channel; both empty themselves into the sea. There are two other mouths, the Bolbitinian and the Bucolic; these are not produced by nature, but by art.

XVIII. My opinion concerning the extent of Egypt receives farther confirmation from the oracle of Ammon; of which, however, I had no knowlege till my mind was already satisfied on the subject. The people of Marea and Apis, who inhabit the borders of Libya, thinking themselves to be not Egyptians but Libyans, both of them disliked the religious ceremonies of the country, and that particular restriction which did not permit them to kill heifers for food: they sent therefore with this impression to Ammon, declaring that they had no connexion with the Egyptians; for they lived beyond the Delta, had their opinions and prejudices as distinct as possible, and wished to have no restriction in the article of food. The deity signified his disapprobation of their conduct, and intimated that every part of that region which was watered by the Nile was strictly to be denominated Egypt; and that all who dwelt below Elephantine and drank of this stream [1] were Egyptians.

XIX. In its more extensive inundations the Nile

1 The *ancients, says Strabo,* confined the appellation of *Egypt to the inhabited* country watered by the Nile, from *the environs of Syene to the sea.*

does not overflow the Delta only, but part of tl ritory which is called Libyan, and sometimes tl bian frontier, and extends about the space of tw journey on each side, speaking on an averag the nature of this river[1] I could obtain no cer formation from the priests or from others. nevertheless my particular desire to know w Nile, beginning at the summer solstice,[2] co gradually to rise for the space of a hundred day after which, for the same space, it as gradua cedes, remaining throughout the winter, and return of the summer solstice, in its former l quiescent state: but all my inquiries of the tants proved ineffectual, and I was unable t why the Nile was thus distinguished in its pro from other streams. I was equally unsucces my wishes to be informed why this river alone no breeze from its surface.

XX. From a desire of gaining a reputation gacity, this subject has employed the attention c among the Greeks. There have been three d modes[3] of explaining it, two of which merit no attention than barely to be mentioned; one c affirms the increase of the Nile to be owing Etesian winds, which, by blowing in an opposit

1 The Nile was considered by the natives as a deity.

2 The inundation commences regularly about the m July, or three weeks after the rains have began to Ethiopia.—*Larcher*.

The Nile is not the only river which increases its in the summer season; it has this property in comm many others, both of Africa and India.—*Larcher*.

3 Diodorus Siculus allows only two of these hypot *be Grecian*; the one by Thales, the other by Anax *the third*, concerning the ocean, he makes of Egy *traction* amongst the priests.—Norden.

tion, impeded the river's entrance to the sea. But it has often happened that no winds have blown from this quarter, and the phenomenon of the Nile has still been the same. It may also be remarked, that were this the real cause, the same events would happen to other rivers whose currents are opposed to the Etesian winds;[1] which, indeed, as having a less body of waters and a weaker current, would be capable of still less resistance: but there are many streams, both in Syria and Africa, none of which exhibit the same appearances with the Nile.

XXI. The second opinion is still less agreeable to reason, though more calculated to excite wonder. This affirms that the Nile has these qualities, as flowing from the ocean, which intirely surrounds the earth.

XXII. The third opinion, though more plausible in appearance, is still more false in reality. It simply intimates that the body of the Nile is formed from the dissolution of snow, which, coming from Libya through the regions of Ethiopia, discharges itself on Egypt. But how can this river, descending from a very warm to a much colder climate, be possibly composed of melted snow? There are many other reasons concurring to satisfy any person of good understanding that this opinion is contrary to fact. The first and the strongest argument may be drawn from the winds, which are in these regions invariably hot: it may also be observed that rain and ice are here intirely un-

1 Of these winds the following account is given by Pliny: in the hottest part of the summer the dog-star rises; this is usually the fifteenth day preceding the calends of August, when the sun enters Leo. About eight days before this star rises the north-east winds rise, which the Greeks call Prodromi (fore-runners): about two days afterwards these winds increase in force, and continue for the space of forty days; *these are called the Etesian* winds.—T.

known.[1] Now if in five days[2] after a fall of snow it must necessarily rain, which is indisputably the case, it follows that if there were snow in those countries, there would certainly be rain. The third proof is taken from the color of the natives, who from excessive heat are universally black; moreover, the kites and the swallows are never known to migrate[3] from this country: the cranes, also, flying from the severity of a Scythian winter, pass that cold season here. If therefore it snowed, although but little, in those places through which the Nile passes, or in those where it takes its rise, reason demonstrates that none of the above-mentioned circumstances could possibly happen.

XXIII. The argument which attributes to the ocean these phenomena of the Nile seems rather to partake of fable, than of truth or sense. For my own part, I know no river of the name of Oceanus; and I am inclined to believe that Homer, or some other poet of former times, first invented and afterwards introduced it in his compositions.

XXIV. But as I have mentioned the preceding opi-

1 Nonnus reports, in the history of his embassy, that during the period when the Nile inundates Egypt there are very violent storms in the different parts of Ethiopia. The atmosphere is exceedingly cloudy, and the rains fall in such torrents as to inundate the country.

The Portuguese missionaries inform us, that from June to September there does not pass a day in Abyssinia without rain, and that the Nile receives all the rivers, streams, and torrents, which fall from the mountains.—*Larcher.*

2 Herodotus had probably remarked, that at Halicarnassus or at Thurium, where he lived, snow was in the space of a few days succeeded by rain.—*Wesseling.*

3 The kites and swallows of those regions through which the Nile flows continue there throughout the year without injury: differing in this respect from those of our climate, it may be reasonably concluded that those regions are of a warm temperature.—*Reiske.*

nions only to censure and confute them, I may be expected perhaps to give my own sentiments on this intricate subject.—It is my opinion that the Nile overflows [1] in the summer season, because in the winter the sun, driven by the storms from his usual course, ascends into the higher regions of the air above Libya. My reason may be explained without difficulty; for it may be easily supposed that to whatever region this power more nearly approaches, the rivers and streams of that country will be proportionably dried up and diminished.

XXV. If I were to go more at length into the argument, I should say that the whole is occasioned by the sun's passage through the higher parts of Libya. For as the air is invariably serene, and the heat always tempered by cooling breezes, the sun acts there as it does in the summer season, when his place is in the centre of the heavens. The solar rays absorb the aqueous particles, which their influence forcibly elevates into the higher regions; here they are received, separated, and dispersed by the winds. And it may be observed that the south and south-west, which are the most common winds in this quarter, are of all others most frequently attended with rain: it does not however appear to me that the sun remits all the water which he every year absorbs from the Nile; some is probably withheld. As winter disappears he returns to the middle place of the heavens, and again by evaporation draws to him the waters of the rivers, all of

1 This explanation of the overflowing of the Nile in the summer, which seemed probable to Herodotus, is not only obscure but absurd, not to say false. This is sufficiently proved by Aristides, in his oration on the causes of the increase of the Nile.—*Reiske.*

This hypothesis of Herodotus is completely refuted by *Diodorus Siculus, book* II. 19, 20. 24.—T.

which are then found considerably increased by the rains, and rising to their extreme heights. But in summer, from the want of rain, and from the attractive power of the sun, they are again reduced: but the Nile is differently circumstanced; it never has the benefit of rains, whilst it is constantly acted on by the sun; a sufficient reason why it should in the winter season be proportionably lower than in summer. In winter the Nile alone[1] is diminished by the influence of the sun, which in summer attracts the water of the rivers indiscriminately; I impute therefore to the sun the remarkable properties of the Nile.

XXVI. To the same cause is to be ascribed, as I suppose, the state of the air in that country, which from the effect of the sun is always extremely rarefied, so that in the higher parts of Africa there prevails an eternal summer. If it were possible to produce a change in the seasons, and to place the regions of the north in those of the south, and those of the south in the north, the sun, driven from his place by the storms of the north, would doubtless affect the higher parts of Europe, as it now does those of Libya. It would also, I imagine, then act on the waters of the Ister, as it now does on those of the Nile.

XXVII. That no breeze[2] blows from the surface of the river, may I think be thus accounted for. Where

1 If the sun attracted moisture from the Nile during the winter season, it would do the same with respect to the other rivers of Libya, and in like manner diminish the force of their currents. As this is not the fact, the reasoning of this author falls to the ground. The rivers of Greece are increased during the winter, not on account of their distance from the sun, but from the frequency of the rains.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

2 An immense body of water, from which no breeze is exhaled, naturally excites an idea of pestilence and putridity. The waters of the Nile, on the contrary, are not only wholesome, but extremely delicious.

the air is in a very warm and rarefied state, wind can hardly be expected, this generally rising in places that are cold. On this subject I shall attempt no farther illustration, but leave it in the state in which it has so long remained.

XXVIII. In all my intercourse with Egyptians, Libyans, and Greeks, I have only met with one person who pretended to have any knowlege of the sources of the Nile. This was the priest who had the care of the sacred treasures in the temple of Minerva at Sais. He assured me that on this subject he possessed the most unquestionable intelligence, though his assertions never obtained my serious confidence. He informed me that betwixt Syene, a city of the Thebais, and Elephantine, there were two mountains, respectively terminating in an acute summit: the name of the one was Crophi, of the other Mophi. He affirmed that the sources of the Nile, which were fountains of unfathomable depth, flowed from the centres of these mountains; that one of these streams divided Egypt, and directed its course to the north; the other in like manner flowed towards the south, through Ethiopia. To confirm his assertion that those springs were unfathomable, he told me that Psammitichus, sovereign of the country, had ascertained it by experiment: he let down a rope of the length of several thousand orgyiæ, but could find no bottom. This was the priest's information, on the truth of which [1] I presume not to determine. If such an experiment was really made, there

1 Herodotus could not have told us more explicitly that he disbelieved the whole of this narrative. On this occasion Strabo speaks *contemptuously* of Herodotus, as a retailer of *fables. But the geographer* had not always so bad an opinion *of him, for he frequently* copies him without acknowleging it.—*Larcher.*

might perhaps in these springs be certain vortices occasioned by the reverberation of the water from the mountains, of force sufficient to buoy up the sounding-line, and prevent its reaching the bottom.

XXIX. Any other intelligence than the above I was not able to procure, though I so far carried my inquiry, that, with a view of making observation, I proceeded myself to Elephantine: of the parts which lie beyond that city I can only speak from the information of others. Beyond Elephantine this country becomes rugged: in advancing up the stream it will be necessary to hale the vessel on each side by a rope, such as is used for oxen. If this should give way, the impetuosity of the stream forces the vessel violently back again. To this place from Elephantine is a four days' voyage; and here, like the Meander, the Nile becomes winding, and for the space of twelve schœni there is no mode of proceeding but that above mentioned. Afterwards you come to a wide and spacious plain, and meet an island which stands in the centre of the river, and is called Tachompso. The higher part beyond Elephantine is possessed by the Ethiopians, who also inhabit half of this island; the other half belongs to the Egyptians. In the vicinity of the island is an extensive lake, near which some Ethiopian shepherds reside: passing over this, you again enter into the channel of the Nile, which flows into the above lake. Beyond this[1] it is necessary, for the space of about forty days, to travel on the banks of the river, which is here so impeded with rocks, as

1 This passage is mentioned by Longinus in terms of admiration.—*T.*

The above is also imitated by Lucian, in his Essay on *Writing* True History:—'Having passed these islands, you *will come* to a great continent,' &c.—Larcher.

to render the passage in a vessel impossible. At the end of these forty days the traveller enters a second vessel, and after a voyage of twelve days will arrive at Meroe, a very considerable town, and as some say the capital of the rest of Ethiopia. The inhabitants pay divine honors to Jupiter and Bacchus[1] only, but these they worship with the extremest veneration. At this place is an oracle of Jupiter, whose declarations, with the most implicit obedience, they permit to regulate all their martial expeditions.

XXX. Leaving this city at about the same distance as from hence to Elephantine, your bark will arrive at the country of the Automoli, who are also known by the name of Asmach. This word translated into our language, signifies those who stand on the left hand of the sovereign. This people, to the amount of two hundred and forty thousand individuals, were formerly Egyptian warriors, and migrated to these parts of Ethiopia on the following occasion: in the reign of Psammitichus they were by his command stationed in different places; some were appointed for the defence of Elephantine against the Ethiopians; some at the Pelusian Daphne; others were detached to prevent the incursions of the Arabians and Assyrians; and to awe Libya there was a garrison also at Marea: at this present period the military stations are regulated by the Persians, as they were under king Psammitichus; for there are Persian garrisons now stationed at Ele-

1 Strabo, in describing the manners of the Ethiopians, makes no mention of either Jupiter or Bacchus. Every thing therefore must have been changed from the age of Herodotus to that of Strabo, or these two authors must have received very different impressions with respect to the two countries. —*Larcher.*

phantine and Daphne. When these Egyptians had remained for the space of three years in the above situation, without being relieved, they determined by general consent to revolt from Psammitichus[1] to the Ethiopians; on intelligence of which event they were immediately followed by Psammitichus, who, on his coming up with them, solemnly adjured them not to desert the gods of their country, their wives and their children. One of them is said to have replied, that wherever they went they would doubtless obtain both wives and children. On their arrival in Ethiopia, the Automoli[2] devoted themselves to the service of the monarch, who in recompense for their conduct assigned them a certain district of Ethiopia possessed by a people in rebellion against him, whom he ordered them to expel for that purpose. After the establishment of the Egyptians among them, the tincture which they imbibed of Egyptian manners had a very sensible effect in civilising the Ethiopians.

XXXI. Thus, without computing that part of it which flows through Egypt, the course of the Nile is known to the extent of four months' journey, partly by land and partly by water; for it will be found on experience, that no one can go in a less time from Elephantine to the Automoli. It is certain that the Nile rises in the west; but beyond the Automoli all is uncertainty, this part of the country being, from the excessive heat, a rude and uncultivated desert.

1 Diodorus Siculus assigns a very different reason for the revolt of these Egyptians. 'Psammitichus,' says that historian, 'having meditated an expedition against Syria, gave the place of honor in his army to strangers, and discovered on all occasions a preference to them, to the prejudice of his natural subjects.'

2 *Deserters.*

XXXII. It may not be improper to relate an account which I received from certain Cyreneans: on an expedition which they made to the oracle of Ammon, they said they had an opportunity of conversing with Etearchus, the sovereign of the country: among other topics the Nile was mentioned, and it was observed that the particulars of its source were hitherto intirely unknown: Etearchus informed them that some Nassamonians once visited his court; (these are a people of Africa who inhabit the Syrtes, and a tract of land which from thence extends towards the east;) on his making inquiry of them concerning the deserts of Africa, they related the following incident: some young men, who were sons of persons of distinction, had on their coming to man's estate signalised themselves by some extravagance of conduct. Among other things, they deputed by lot five of their companions to explore the solitudes of Africa, and to endeavor at extending their discoveries beyond all preceding adventurers. All that part of Libya towards the Northern Ocean, from Egypt to the promontory of Soloeis, which terminates the third division of the globe, is inhabited by the different nations of the Libyans, that district alone excepted in possession of the Greeks and Phœnicians. The remoter parts of Libya beyond the sea-coast, and the people who inhabit its borders, are infested by various beasts of prey; the country yet more distant is a parched and immeasurable desert. The young men left their companions well provided with water and with food, and first proceeded through the region which was inhabited; they next came to that which was infested by wild beasts, leaving which, they directed their course westward *through* the desert. After a journey of *many days, over* a barren and sandy soil, they at

grounds to a city, in which all the inhabitants v the diminutive appearance, and of a black color city was washed by a great river which flowed west to east, and abounded in crocodiles.

XXXIII. Such was the conversation of Etea as related to me; he added, as the Cyreneans 1 told me, that the Nassamonians returned to the country, and reported the men whom they had be all of them magicians. The river which w their city, according to the conjecture of Etea which probability confirms, was the Nile. Th certainly rises in Libya, which it divides; and i allowable to draw conclusions from things whi well known, concerning those which are uncerta obscure, it takes a similar course with the Ister.

1 The pigmies are as old as Homer. They were n fined to Ethiopia, they were believed to exist also in Homer thus mentions them:

So when inclement winters vex the plain
With piercing frosts, or thick descending rain,

river, commencing at the city of Pyrene, among the Celtæ, flows through the centre of Europe.[1] These Celtæ are found beyond the Columns of Hercules; they border on the Cynesians, the most remote of all the nations who inhabit the western parts of Europe. At that point which is possessed by the Istrians, a Milesian colony, the Ister empties itself into the Euxine.

XXXIV. The sources of the Ister, as it passes through countries well inhabited, are sufficiently notorious; but of the fountains of the Nile, washing as it does the rude and uninhabitable deserts of Libya, no one can speak with precision. All the knowlege which I have been able to procure from the most diligent and extensive inquiries, I have before communicated. Through Egypt it directs its course towards the sea. Opposite to Egypt are the mountains of Cilicia, from whence to Sinope, on the Euxine, a good traveller may pass in five days: on the side immediately opposite to Sinope the Ister is poured into the sea. Thus the Nile, as it traverses Africa, may properly enough be compared to the Ister. But on this subject I have said all that I think necessary.

XXXV. Concerning Egypt itself I shall speak more at large; it claims our admiration beyond all other countries, and the wonderful things which it exhibits demand a very copious description.—The Egyptians, born under a climate to which no other can be compared, possessing a river different in its nature and properties from all the rivers in the world, are them-

1 This is not quite true. He means the same as when he observes, a little before, that the Nile divides Libya in the midst. But this mistake will not justify our following the *example of Bouhier, who accuses Herodotus of confounding the Nile with the Niger.—Larcher.*

selves distinguished from the rest of mankind by the singularity of their institutions and their manners. In this country the women leave to the men the management of the loom, in the retirement of the house, whilst they themselves are engaged abroad in the business of commerce. Other nations in weaving shoot the woof above, the Egyptians beneath: here the men carry burdens on their heads, women on their shoulders. Their meals are eaten publicly in the streets. The office of the priesthood is in every instance confined to the men; there are no priestesses in Egypt in the service either of male or female deities; the men are under no obligation[1] to support their parents, if unwilling to do so, but the women are.

XXXVI. The priests of the gods, who in other places wear their hair long, in Egypt wear it short. It is elsewhere customary,[2] in case of death, for those who are most nearly affected to cut off their hair in testimony of sorrow; but the Egyptians, who at other times have their heads closely shorn, suffer the hair on this occasion to grow. Other nations will not suffer animals to approach the place of their repast, but in Egypt they live promiscuously with the people. Wheat and barley is a common article of food in other countries, but it is in Egypt thought mean and disgraceful;

1 The law of which Herodotus speaks had probably this foundation. The priests and the military having duties to perform which did not suffer them to take care of their parents, these in their sons' absence would probably have experienced neglect. It is well known that the priests were also judges, and that they were despatched to different places to administer justice, and that of consequence they must often have been absent from their families.—*Larcher*.

2 Amongst the Greeks, when any sad calamity befalls them, *the women* cut their hair close, the men wear it long; in *general, the* women wear their hair long, the men short.—*Plutarch.*

the diet here consists principally of spelt, a kind of corn which some call zea. Their dough they knead with their feet; whilst in the removal of mud and dung they do not scruple to use their hands. Male children, except in those places which have borrowed the custom from hence, are left in other nations as nature formed them: in Egypt they are circumcised. The men have two vests, the women only one. In opposition to the customs of other nations, the Egyptians fix the ropes to their sails on the inside. The Greeks, when they write or reckon with counters, go from the left to the right, the Egyptians from right to left; notwithstanding which they persist in affirming that the Greeks write to the left, but they themselves always to the right. They have two sorts of letters;[1] one of which is appropriated to sacred subjects, the other used on common occasions.

XXXVII. Their veneration of their deities is superstitious to an extreme: of their customs, one is to drink out of brazen goblets, which it is an universal practice among them to cleanse every day. They are so regardful of neatness that they wear only linen, and that always newly washed; and it is from the idea of cleanliness, which they regard much beyond comeliness, that they use circumcision. Their priests[2]

1 Diodorus Siculus agrees in this respect with Herodotus. Clemens Alexandrinus and Porphyry remark, that the Egyptians used three sorts of letters: the first is called epistolary, the second the sacerdotal, the third the hieroglyphic. Warburton, in his Divine Legation of Moses, attributes to the Egyptians four sorts of letters. Although I am ignorant of the time when the Egyptians first began to have an alphabet, I am satisfied it must have been long before the invasion of Cambyses.—*Larcher.*

2 *For a more particular* account of the particularities *observed by the Egyptian* priests, see Porphyrius de Abstinen-

every third day shave every part of their bodies, to prevent vermin[1] or any species of impurity from adhering to those who are engaged in the service of the gods; the priesthood is also confined to one particular mode of dress; they have one vest of linen, and their shoes are made of the byblus; they wash themselves in cold water twice in the course of the day, and as often in the night: it would indeed be difficult to enumerate their religious ceremonies, all of which they practise with superstitious exactness. The sacred ministers possess in return many and great advantages: they are not obliged to consume any part of their domestic property; each has a moiety of the sacred viands ready dressed assigned him, besides a large and daily allowance of beef and of geese; they have also wine, but are not permitted to feed on fish.[2]

Beans are sown in no part of Egypt; neither will the inhabitants eat them, either boiled or raw: the priests will not even look at this pulse, esteeming it exceedingly unclean. Every god has several attendant priests, and one of superior dignity, who presides over

tia, lib. iii.; from whom it appears that their whole time was divided betwixt study and acts of devotion.—*T.*

1 In this respect the Jews were in like manner tenacious: if a Jewish priest found any dirt or dead vermin betwixt his inner garments and his skin, he might not perform the duties of his office. See *Maimonides.*—*T.*

2 The reason of this, according to Plutarch, was their excessive enmity to the sea, which they considered as an element inimical to man: the same reasoning they extended to the produce of the Nile, which they thought corrupted by its connexion with the sea.—*T.*

Various motives are assigned why the Pythagoreans, in imitation of the Egyptians, abstained from beans, by Plutarch, Cicero, and others. 'The Pythagoreans,' observes Cicero, 'abstained from beans, as if that kind of food inflated the *mind* rather than the belly; but there is nothing so absurd which has not been affirmed by some one of the philosophers.'—*T.*

the rest; when any one dies he is succeeded by his son.[1]

XXXVIII. They esteem bulls as sacred to Epaphus;[2] which, previously to sacrifice, are thus carefully examined: if they can but discover a single black hair in his body, he is deemed impure; for this purpose a priest is particularly appointed, who examines the animal as it stands, and as reclined on its back: its tongue is also drawn out, and he observes whether it be free from those blemishes which are specified in their sacred books, and of which I shall speak hereafter. The tail also undergoes examination, every hair of which must grow in its natural and proper form: if in all these instances the bull appears to be unblemished, the priest fastens the byblus round his horns; he then applies a preparation of earth, which receives the impression of his seal, and the animal is led away: this seal is of so great importance that to sacrifice a beast which has it not is deemed a capital offence.

XXXIX. I proceed to describe their mode of sacrifice. Having led the animal destined and marked for the purpose to the altar, they kindle a fire: a libation of wine is poured on the altar; the god is solemnly invoked, and the victim then is killed; they afterwards cut off his head, and take the skin from the carcass; on the head they heap many imprecations: such as have a market-place at hand carry it there, and sell it to the Grecian traders; if they have not this opportunity, they throw it into the river. They

1 Amongst the Egyptians the priests composed a distinct class, as the Levites amongst the Jews, and the Brachmans with the Indians.—*Larcher.*

2 *It was doubtless* from the circumstance of this idolatry *that Aaron erected the* golden calf in the wilderness, and *Jeroboam in Dan* and Bethel.—*T.*

imprecate the head, by wishing that whatever evil menaces those who sacrifice, or Egypt in general, it may fall on that head. This ceremony respecting the head of the animal, and this mode of pouring a libation of wine on the altar, is indiscriminately observed by all the Egyptians: in consequence of the above, no Egyptian will on any account eat of the head of a beast. As to the examination of the victims, and their ceremony of burning them, they have different methods as their different occasions of sacrifice require.

XL. Of that goddess whom they esteem the first of all their deities, and in whose honor their greatest festival is celebrated, I shall now make more particular mention. After the previous ceremony of prayers, they sacrifice an ox: they then strip off the skin, and take out the intestines, leaving the fat and the paunch; they afterwards cut off the legs, the shoulders, the neck, and the extremities of the loin; the rest of the body is stuffed with fine bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and various aromatics; after this process they burn it, pouring on the flame a large quantity of oil: whilst the victim is burning the spectators flagellate themselves, having fasted before the ceremony; the whole is completed by their feasting on the residue of the sacrifice.

XLI. All the Egyptians sacrifice bulls without blemish, and calves; the females are sacred to Isis, and may not be used for this purpose. This divinity is represented under the form of a woman, and as the Greeks paint Io, with horns on her head; for this reason the Egyptians venerate cows far beyond all other cattle, neither will any man or woman among them kiss a Grecian, nor use a knife, or spit on any domestic utensil belonging to a Greek; nor will they eat even the flesh of such beasts as by their law are

pure, if it has been cut with a Grecian knife. If any of these cattle die, they thus dispose of their carcasses; the females are thrown into the river, the males they bury in the vicinity of the city, and by way of mark, one, and sometimes both of the horns are left projecting from the ground; they remain thus a stated time, and till they begin to putrify, when a vessel appointed for this particular purpose is despatched from Prosopitis, an island of the Delta, nine schœni in extent, and containing several cities. Atarbechis, one of these cities, in which is a temple of Venus, provides the vessels for this purpose, which are sent to the different parts of Egypt: these collect and transport the bones of the animals, which are all buried in one appointed place. This law and custom extends to whatever cattle may happen to die, as the Egyptians themselves put none to death.

XLII. Those who worship in the temple of the Theban Jupiter, or belong to the district of Thebes, abstain from sheep, and sacrifice goats. The same deities receive in Egypt different forms of worship: the ceremonies of Isis and of Osiris, who they say is no other than the Grecian Bacchus, are alone unvaried: in the temple of Mendes, and in the whole Mendesian district, goats are preserved and sheep sacrificed. Why the Thebans, and all who are under their influence abstain from sheep, is thus explained: Jupiter, they say, was long averse to the earnest solicitations of Hercules to see his person; but in consequence of his repeated importunity the god, in compliance, used the following artifice: he cut off the head of a ram, and covering himself with its skin, showed himself in that form to Hercules: from this incident *the Egyptian* statues of Jupiter represent

that divinity with the head of a ram. This custom was borrowed of the Egyptians by the Ammonians, who are composed partly of Egyptians and partly of Ethiopians, and whose dialect is formed promiscuously of both those languages. The Egyptians call Jupiter, Ammoun, and I should think this was the reason why the above people named themselves Ammonians. From this however it is that the Thebans esteem the ram as sacred, and except on the annual festival of Jupiter, never put one to death. On this solemnity they kill a ram, and placing its skin on the image of the god, they introduce before it a figure of Hercules; the assembly afterwards beat the ram, and conclude the ceremony by enclosing the body in a sacred chest.

XLIII. This Hercules, as I have been informed, is one of the twelve great gods; but of the Grecian Hercules I could in no part of Egypt procure any knowlege: that this name was never borrowed by Egypt from Greece, but certainly communicated by the Egyptians to the Greeks, and to those in particular who assign it to the son of Amphitryon, is among other arguments sufficiently evident from this, that both the reputed parents of this Hercules, Amphitryon and Alcmena, were of Egyptian origin. The Egyptians also disclaim all knowlege both of Neptune and the Dioscuri, neither of whom are admitted among the number of their gods: if they had ever borrowed the name of a deity from Greece, the remembrance of these, so far from being less, must have been stronger than of any other; for if they then made voyages, and as I have great reason to believe there were at *that time* Greek sailors, they would rather have been acquainted with the names of the other deities, than

with that of Hercules. Hercules is certainly one of the most ancient deities of Egypt;[1] and as they themselves affirm, is one of the twelve who were produced from the eight gods, seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

XLIV. From my great desire to obtain information on this subject, I made a voyage to Tyre, in Phœnicia, where is a temple of Hercules held in great veneration. Among the various offerings which enriched and adorned it, I saw two pillars; the one was of the purest gold, the other of emerald, which in the night diffused an extraordinary splendor. I inquired of the priests how long this temple had been erected, but I found that they also differed in their relation from the Greeks. This temple, as they affirmed, had been standing ever since the first building of the city, a period of two thousand three hundred years. I saw also at Tyre another temple consecrated to the Thasian Hercules. At Thasus, which I visited, I found a temple erected to this deity by the Phœnicians, who built Thasus while they were engaged in search of Europa; an event which happened five generations before Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, was known in Greece. From all these circumstances I was convinced that Hercules must be a very ancient deity. Such therefore of the Greeks as have erected two temples to the deity of this name, have, in my opinion, acted very wisely: to the Olympian Hercules they offer as to an immortal being; to the other they pay the rites of a hero.

1 The remark that the Egyptian is a very distinct personage from the Grecian Hercules, is not peculiar to Herodotus; it is *affirmed by all the* authors who have had occasion to *speak on the subject*: Cicero gives him the Nile as his father: *Nilo genitus.—Larcher.*

XLV. Among the many preposterous fables current in Greece, the one concerning Hercules is not the least ridiculous. He arrived, they say, in Egypt, where the inhabitants bound him with the sacred fillet, and the usual ornaments of a victim, and made preparations to sacrifice him to Jupiter. For a while he restrained himself; but on his being conducted with the usual solemnities to the altar, he exerted his strength, and put all his opponents to death. This story of the Greeks demonstrates the extremest ignorance of the Egyptian manners; for how can it be reasonable to suppose that they will offer human beings in sacrifice, who will not for this purpose destroy even animals; except swine, bulls, male calves without blemish, and geese? Or how could Hercules, an individual, and as they themselves affirm, a mortal, be able to destroy many thousands of men? I hope however that what I have introduced on this subject will give no offence either to gods or heroes.

XLVI. The Mendesians, of whom I have before spoken, refuse to sacrifice goats of either sex, out of reverence to Pan, whom their traditions assert to be one of the eight deities, whose existence preceded that of the twelve. Like the Greeks, they always represent Pan in his images with the countenance of the she-goat and legs of the male; not that they believe this has any resemblance to his person, or that he in any respect differs from the rest of the deities: the real motive which they assign for this custom I do not choose to relate. The veneration of the Mendesians for these animals, and for the males in particular, is equally great and universal: this is also extended to goatherds. There is one he-goat more particularly honored than the rest, whose death is seriously lamented by the whole district of the Mendesians. In the

Egyptian language the word Mendes is used in common for Pan and for a goat. It happened in this country within my remembrance, and was indeed universally notorious, that the most indecent practices were tolerated.

XLVII. The Egyptians regard the hog as an unclean animal,[1] and if they casually touch one they immediately plunge themselves, clothes and all, into the water. This prejudice operates to the exclusion of all swine-herds, although natives of Egypt, from the temples; with people of this description a connexion by marriage is studiously avoided, and they are reduced to the necessity of intermarrying among those of their own profession. The only deities to whom the Egyptians offer swine are Bacchus and Luna; to these they sacrifice swine when the moon is at the full, after which they eat the flesh. Why they offer swine at this particular time, and at no other, the Egyptians have a tradition among themselves, which delicacy forbids me to explain. The following is the mode in which they sacrifice this animal to Luna: as soon as it is killed they cut off the extremity of the tail, which, with the spleen and the fat, they inclose in the cawl, and burn; on the remainder, which at any other time they would disdain, they feast at the full moon, when the sacrifice is performed. They who are poor make the figures of swine with meal, which having first baked, they offer on the altar.

1 The abhorrence of the Jews to the flesh of swine is generally supposed to have been imitated from the Egyptians; they differed in this, the Jews would never eat it, the Egyptians occasionally did. The motives assigned by Plutarch for the prejudice of both these nations in this particular instance *is curious enough*: 'the milk of the sow,' says he, '*occasioned leprosies*, which was the reason why the Egyptians *entertained so great* an aversion for this animal.'

XLVIII. On the day of the feast of Bacchus, at the hour of supper, every person before the door of his house offers a hog in sacrifice. The swine-herd of whom they purchased it is afterwards at liberty to take it away. Except this sacrifice of the swine, the Egyptians celebrate the feast of Bacchus in the same manner as the Greeks.

XLIX. I am of opinion that Melampus,[1] son of Amytheon, was acquainted with this ceremony. It was Melampus who first taught the Greeks the name and the sacrifice of Bacchus, and introduced the procession of the phalli; the mysterious purport of which he did not sufficiently explain; but since his time it has received from different sages adequate illustrations. It is unquestionable that the use of the phalli in the sacrifice of Bacchus, with the other ceremonies which the Greeks now know and practise, were first taught them by Melampus. I therefore without hesitation pronounce him to have been a man of wisdom, and of skill in the art of divination. Instructed by the Egyptians[2] in various ceremonies, and particularly in those which relate to Bacchus, with some few trifling changes he brought them into Greece. I can by no

1 So called because, being exposed when a child by his mother Rhodope, his whole person was covered, excepting his feet; these the rays of the sun turned black. He was a famous soothsayer: he was also, according to Pausanias, a physician, and had a temple and statues, and solemn games instituted in his honor.—*T.*

2 As Egypt was then famous for the sciences and arts, the Greeks, who were beginning to emerge from barbarism, travelled thither to obtain knowlege, which they might afterwards communicate to their countrymen. With this view the following illustrious characters visited this country: '*Orpheus*, Musæus, Melampus, Dædalus, Homer, Lycurgus *the* Spartan, Solon of Athens, Plato the philosopher, Pytha*goras of* Samos, Eudoxus, Democritus of Abdera, Œnopis of *Cnios, &c, &c.*'—*Larcher.*

means impute to accident the resemblance which exists in the rites of Bacchus in Egypt, and in Greece; in this case they would not have differed so essentially from the Grecian manners, and they might have been traced to more remote antiquity: neither will I affirm that these, or that any other religious ceremonies were borrowed of Greece by the Egyptians; I rather think that Melampus learned all these particulars which relate to the worship of Bacchus from Cadmus and his Tyrian companions, when they came from Phœnicia to what is now called Bœotia.

L. Egypt has certainly communicated to Greece the names of almost all the gods; that they are of barbarian origin, I am convinced by my different researches. The names of Neptune and the Dioscuri I mentioned before; with these, if we except Juno, Vesta, Themis, the Graces, and the Nereids, the names of all the other deities have always been familiar in Egypt. In this instance I do but repeat the opinions of the Egyptians. Those names of which they disclaim any knowlege are all, except Neptune, of Pelasgian derivation; for their acquaintance with this deity they are indebted to Africa, where indeed he was first of all known, and has always been greatly honored. The Egyptians do not pay any religious ceremonies to heroes.

LI. With the above, the Greeks have derived many other circumstances of religious worship from Egypt, which I shall hereafter relate; they did not however learn from hence, but from the Pelasgi, to construct the figure of Mercury erect, which custom was first introduced by the Athenians, and communicated from them to others. At that period the Athenians were ranked among the nations of Greece, and had the Pelasgians for their neighbors: from which incident this

people also began to be esteemed as Greeks. Of the truth of this whoever has been initiated in the Cabirian mysteries,[1] which the Samothracians use, and learned of the Pelasgi, will be necessarily convinced; for the Pelasgians before they lived near the Athenians formerly inhabited Samothracia, and taught the people of that country their mysteries. By them the Athenians were first of all instructed to make the figure of Mercury upright. For this the Pelasgians have a sacred tradition, which is explained in the Samothracian mysteries.

LII. The Pelasgians, as I was informed at Dodona, formerly offered all things indiscriminately to the gods. They distinguished them by no name or surname, for they were hitherto unacquainted with either; but they called them gods, which by its etymology means disposers, from observing the orderly disposition and distribution of the various parts of the universe. They learned, but not till a late period, the names of the

1 The Cabiri, says Montfaucon, were a sort of deities about whom the ancients differ much. The Cabiri, the Curetæ, the Corybantes, the Idean Dactyli, and sometimes the Telchinii, were taken for the same: they were sometimes taken for the Dioscuri. With regard to their functions, and the places in which they exercised, opinions equally various are held: some call them the sons of Vulcan, others of Jupiter.—*Montfaucon.*

Who these Cabirim might be, has been a matter of unsuccessful inquiry to many learned men. The utmost that is known with certainty is, that they were originally three, and were called by way of eminence, The Great, or Mighty Ones, for that is the import of the Hebrew name. Of the like import is the Latin appellation Penates: Dii per quos *penitus*, spiramus, &c. Thus the joint worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the triad of the Roman capitol, is traced to that of *The Three Mighty Ones* in Samothrace, which was established in that *island,* at what precise time it is impossible to determine: *but earlier,* if Eusebius may be credited, than the days of *Abraham.*—*Bishop Horsley*'s Charge to the Clergy, &c.

divinities from the Egyptians, and Bacchus was the last whom they knew. On this subject they afterwards consulted the oracle of Dodona, by far the most ancient oracle of Greece, and at the period of which we speak, the only one. They desired to know whether they might with propriety adopt the names which they had learned of the barbarians, and were answered that they might; they have accordingly used them ever since in their rites of sacrifice, and from the Pelasgi they were communicated to the Greeks.

LIII. Of the origin of each deity, whether they have all of them always existed, as also of their form, their knowlege is very recent indeed. The invention of the Grecian theogony,[1] the names, the honors, the forms, and the functions of the deities, may with propriety be ascribed to Hesiod and to Homer,[2] who I

1 To suppose Homer to have been the author of the theology and mythology contained in his poems would be as unreasonable as to imagine that he first taught the Greeks to read and write. We find that, in the following ages, when wise men began to reason more on these subjects, they censured Homer's theology, as highly injurious to the gods, if it were understood in the literal sense. But when Homer wrote, he had sufficient excuse and authority for the fables which he delivered: and he introduced into his poems, by way of machinery, and with some decorations, theological legends, contrived in more rude and ignorant times, and sanctified by hoary age and venerable tradition. Tradition had preserved some memory of the things which the gods had done and had suffered when they were men.—*Jortin's Dissertation*, 207.

This evidence of Herodotus must be esteemed early, and his judgment valid. What can afford us a more sad account of the doubt and darkness in which mankind were enveloped than these words of the historian? How plainly does he show the necessity of divine interposition, and of revelation in consequence of it.—*Bryant's Mythology*, i. 307.

2 To me it seems certain that the life of Homer, attributed to Herodotus, was not written by our historian. This I think might very easily be proved, but it would require a dissertation, and much exceed the limits of a note.—Larcher.

believe lived four hundred years, and not more before myself. If I may give my opinion, the poets who are reported to have been before these, were certainly after them. What I have said of the names and origin of the gods has been on the authority of the priests of Dodona; of Hesiod and of Homer I have delivered my own sentiments.

LIV. Of the two oracles of Greece and Libya, the Egyptians speak as follows: I was told by the ministers of the Theban Jupiter that the Phœnicians had violently carried off from Thebes two priestesses, one of whom had been sold into Africa, the other into Greece; they added that the commencement of the above oracles must be assigned to these two women. On my requesting to know their authority for these assertions, they answered, that after a long and ineffectual search after these priestesses, they had finally learned what they had told me.

LV. I have related the intelligence which I gained from the priests at Thebes: the priestesses of Dodona[1] assert, that two black pigeons flew from Thebes in Egypt, one of which settled in Africa, the other among themselves; which latter resting on the branch of a beech-tree, declared with a human voice that here by divine appointment was to be an oracle of Jove. The inhabitants fully impressed that this was a divine commu-

1 There is an account given by Palæphatus, of one Metra, or Meestra, who could change herself into various forms. The story is very plain: Egypt was frequently called Mestra and Mestraia, and by the person here called Mestra we are certainly to understand a woman of the country. She was sometimes simply mentioned as a *cahen* or priestess, which the Greeks have rendered *κυνα*, a dog. Women in this sacred character attended at the shrine of Apis and Mnenis, and of the sacred heifer at Onuphis. Some of them in different countries were styled Cygneans, and also Peleiadæ, of whom the principal were the women at Dodona.—Bryant.

nication, instantly complied with the injunction. The dove which flew to Africa in like manner commanded the people to fix there an oracle of Ammon, which also is an oracle of Jupiter. Such was the information I received from the priestesses of Dodona, the eldest of whom was called Promenea, the second Timarete, the youngest Nicandre; the other ministers employed in the service of the temple agreed with these in every particular.

LVI. My opinion of the matter is this: if the Phœnicians did in reality carry away these two priestesses, and sell one to Africa, the other to Greece, this latter must have been carried to the Thesproti, which country, though part of what is now termed Greece, was formerly called Pelasgia.[1] That although in a state of servitude, she erected under the shade of a beech-tree a sacred edifice to Jupiter, which she might very naturally be prompted to do from the remembrance of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, whence she was taken. Thus she instituted the oracle, and having learned the Greek language, might probably relate that by the same Phœnicians her sister was sold for a slave to Africa.

LVII. The name of doves was probably given them because, being strangers, the sound of their voices might to the people of Dodona seem to resemble the tone of those birds. When the woman having learned the language, delivered her thoughts in words which were generally understood, the dove might be said to have spoken with a human voice. Before she had thus accomplished herself, her voice might appear like

1 The people who then composed the body of the Hellenistic nation in those ancient times gave their names to the countries which they occupied. The Pelasgians were widely *dispersed.—Larcher.*

thus derived from Egypt; at least the Egyptian
the first who introduced the sacred festivals, p
sions, and supplications, and from them the
were instructed. Of this it is to me a sufficien
mony that these religious ceremonies are in
but of modern date, whereas in Egypt they hav
in use from the remotest antiquity.

LIX. In the course of the year the Egyptian
brate various public festivals; but the festi
honor of Diana, at the city Bubastos, is the
dignity and importance. The second is held in
of Isis, at the city Busiris, which is situated
middle of the Delta, and contains the largest
of that goddess. Isis is called in the Greek
Demeter or Ceres. The solemnities of Miner
served at Sais,[1] are the third in consequenc
fourth are at Heliopolis, and sacred to the su
fifth are those of Latona, at Butos; the next t
Mars, solemnised at Papremis.

LX. They who meet to celebrate the fest

and women promiscuously mixed. During the passage some of the women[1] strike their tabors, accompanied by men playing on flutes. The rest of both sexes clap their hands, and join in chorus. Whatever city they approach, the vessels are brought to shore: of the women some continue their instrumental music, others call aloud to the females of the place, provoke them by injurious language, dance about, and indecently throw aside their garments. This they do at every place near which they pass. On their arrival at Bubastos, the feast commences by the sacrifice of many victims, and on this occasion a greater quantity of wine[2] is consumed than in all the rest of the year. The natives report, that at this solemnity seven hundred thousand[3] men and women assemble, not to mention children.

LXI. I have before related in what manner the rites of Isis are celebrated at Busiris. After the ceremonies of sacrifice the whole assembly, to the amount of many thousands, flagellate themselves; but in whose honor they do this I am not at liberty to disclose. The Carians of Egypt treat themselves at this solemnity with unparalleled severity: they cut themselves in the face with swords, and by this distinguish themselves from the Egyptian natives.

LXII. At the sacrifice solemnised at Sais the as-

1 These no doubt are the Almai, which were not then more decent than now.

The Egyptians since Herodotus have been governed by various nations, and at length are sunk deep in ignorance and slavery; but their true character has undergone no change. The frantic ceremonies the pagan religion authorised are now renewed around the sepulchres of Santons, before the churches of the Copts, and in the fairs I mentioned.—*Savary*.

2 In the Greek it is wine of the vine, to distinguish it from beer, which he calls barley-wine.—*Larcher*.

3 Some read only seventy thousand.—T.

sembly is held by night; they suspend before their houses in the open air lamps which are filled with oil mixed with salt;[1] a wick floats at the top, which will burn all night; the feast itself is called the feast of lamps.[2] Such of the Egyptians as do not attend the ceremony think themselves obliged to observe the evening of the festival, and in like manner burn lamps before their houses: thus on this night not Sais only, but all Egypt is illuminated. A religious motive is assigned for the festival itself, and for the illuminations by which it is distinguished.

LXIII. At Heliopolis and Butos sacrifices alone are offered, but at Papremis, as at other places, in addition to the offering of victims, other religious ceremonies are observed. At the close of the day a small number of priests are in immediate attendance on the statue of Mars; a great number, armed with clubs, place themselves at the entrance of the temple; opposite to these may be seen more than a thousand men tumultuously assembled with clubs also in their hands to perform their religious vows. The day before the festival they remove the statue of the god,

1 Salt was constantly used at all entertainments, both of the gods and men, whence a particular sanctity was believed to be lodged in it: it is hence called divine salt by Homer. —*Potter*.

2 This feast, which much resembles the feast of lamps observed from time immemorial in China, seems to confirm the opinion of M. de Guignes, who has been the first to intimate that China was a colony from Egypt.—*Larcher*.

In Egypt there is no rejoicing, no festival of any consideration at all, unaccompanied with illumination. For this purpose they make use of earthen lamps, which they put into very deep vessels of glass, in such a manner as that the glass is two-thirds, or at least one half of its height higher than the lamp, in order to preserve the light, and prevent its extinction by the wind. The Egyptians have carried this art to the highest perfection, &c.—Maillet.

which is kept in a small case decorated with gold, to a different apartment. The priests attendant on the statue place it, together with its case, on a four-wheeled carriage, and begin to draw it along. Those at the entrance of the temple endeavor to prevent its admission: but the votaries above-mentioned come to the succor of the god, and a combat ensues between the two parties, in which many heads are broken, and I should suppose many lives lost, though this the Egyptians positively deny.

LXIV. The motive for this ceremony is thus explained by the natives of the country:—this temple, they say, was the residence of the mother of Mars: the god himself, who had been brought up at a distance from his parent, on his arrival at man's estate, came hither to visit his mother. The attendants, who had never seen him before, not only refused to admit him, but roughly drove him from the place. Obtaining proper assistance, he returned, severely chastised those who had opposed him, and obtained admission to his parent. From this circumstance the above mode of fighting was ever after practised on the festival of Mars: and these people were also the first who made it a point of religion not to communicate with a woman in a temple, or enter any consecrated place without having first washed. Except the Egyptians and the Greeks, all other nations without scruple live with women in their temples, nor think it necessary to wash themselves previous to paying their devotions. In this instance they rank man indiscriminately with other animals; for observing that birds as well as beasts betake themselves to shrines and temples, they *conclude* that it cannot be offensive to *the deity. Such a mode* of reasoning does not by any *means obtain my* approbation.

LXV. The superstition of the Egyptians is conspicuous in various instances, but in this more particularly: notwithstanding the vicinity of their country to Africa, the number of beasts is comparatively small, but all of them, both those which are wild and those which are domestic, are regarded as sacred. If I were to explain the reason of this prejudice I should be led to the discussion of those sacred subjects which I particularly wish to avoid,[1] and which but from necessity I should not have discussed so fully as I have. Their laws compel them to cherish animals; a certain number of men and women are appointed to this office, which is esteemed so honorable, that it descends in succession from father to son. In the presence of these animals the inhabitants of the cities perform their vows. They address themselves as supplicants to the divinity, who is supposed to be represented by the animal in whose presence they are; they then cut off their children's hair, sometimes the whole of it, sometimes half, at other times only a third part; this they weigh in a balance against a piece of silver; as soon as the silver preponderates, they give it to the woman who keeps the beast; she in return feeds the beast with pieces of fish, which is their constant food. It is a capital offence designedly to kill any one of these animals;[2] to destroy one accidentally is punished

1 The ancients were remarkably scrupulous in every thing which regarded religion; but in the time of Diodorus Siculus strangers did not pay the same reverence to the religious rites of the Egyptians. This historian was not afraid to acquaint us with the motives which induced the Egyptians to pay divine honors to animals.—*Larcher.*

2 The cat was also held in the extremest veneration by the ancient Egyptians: and Diodorus Siculus relates that a *Roman* having by accident killed a cat, the common people *instantly* surrounded his house with every demonstration of *fury*. The king's guards were instantly despatched to rescue

by a fine, determined by the priests; but whoever, however involuntarily, kills an ibis[1] or a hawk,[2] cannot by any means escape death.

LXVI. The number of domestic animals in Egypt is very great, and would be much greater if the increase of cats were not thus frustrated: the female cats, when delivered of their young, carefully avoid the company of the males, who, to approach them again, contrive and execute this stratagem: they steal the young from the mother, which they destroy, but do not eat. This animal, which is very fond of its young from its desire to have more, again covets the company of the male. In every accident of fire, the cats seem to be actuated by some supernatural impulse; for the Egyptians surrounding the place which is burning, appear to be occupied with no thought but that of preserving their cats. These, however, by stealing between the legs of the spectators, or by leaping over their heads, endeavor to dart into the flames. This circumstance whenever it happens, diffuses universal sorrow.[3] In whatever family a cat by accident hap-

him from their rage, but in vain: his authority and the Roman name were equally ineffectual.—In the most extreme necessities of famine, they rather chose to feed on human flesh than on these animals.—*T.*

1 The Egyptians thus venerated the ibis, because they were supposed to devour the serpents which bred in the ground after the ebbing of the Nile.—*T.*

2 They have a kind of domestic large brown hawk, with a fine eye. One may see the pigeons and hawks standing close to one another. The Turks never kill them, and seem to have a sort of veneration for these birds and for cats, as well as their ancestors. The ancient Egyptians in this animal worshipped the sun or Osiris, of which the brightness of its eyes was an emblem.—*Pococke.*

3 One method of mourning prevalent in the East was to assemble *in multitudes,* and bewail aloud. In a manuscript of Sir John Chardin, part of which has been given in the work of Mr. Harmer, we have this remark; 'it is the genius

buried in consecrated chests wherever they m to die, which ceremony is also observed wi to the ichneumons.[4] The shrew-mice and

of the people of Asia to express their sentiments grief aloud. These their transports are ungover sive, and truly outrageous.' See Harmer, vol. ii.

1 The custom of cutting off the hair in mourni to have obtained in the East in the prophetic time

Among the ancient Greeks it was sometimes dead body, sometimes cast into the funeral pile, times placed on the grave.

Maillet says that in the East the women that atte to the grave generally have their hair hanging their ears.

2 In this respect Plutarch differs from Hero allows that these animals were at one time este but it was before the time of Cambyses. From th reign they were held in another light; for whe killed the sacred Apis, the dogs fed so liberally trails, without making a proper distinction, that t their sanctity. But they were certainly of old lo sacred; and it was perhaps with a view to this, a vent the Israelites retaining any notion of this na dog was not suffered to come within the precin temple of Jerusalem. Bryant.

always removed to Butos; the ibis to Hermopolis; the bears, an animal rarely seen in Egypt, and the wolves,[1] which are not much bigger than foxes, are buried in whatever place they die.

LXVIII. I proceed now to describe the nature of the crocodile,[2] which during the four severer months

It creeps slowly along, as if ready to seize its prey; it feeds on plants, eggs, and fowls. In Upper Egypt it searches for the eggs of the crocodile, which lie hid in the sand, and eats them, thereby preventing the increase of that animal. It may be easily tamed, and goes about the houses like a cat. It makes a growling noise and barks when it is very angry. The French in Egypt have called this rat de Pharaon. Alpinus and Bellonius, following this, have called it mus Pharaonis. The resemblance it has to a mouse in color and hair, might have induced people ignorant of natural history to call it a mouse; but why Pharaoh's mouse? The Egyptians were in the time of Pharaoh too intelligent to call it a mouse: nor is it at this day called *phar* by the Arabs, which is the name for mouse; they call it *nems*. What is related concerning its entering the jaws of the crocodile is fabulous.—*Hasselquist.*

1 Hasselquist did not meet with either of these animals in Egypt.

Wolves were honored in Egypt, says Eusebius, probably from their resemblance to the dog. Some relate that the Ethiopians having made an expedition against Egypt, were put to flight by a vast number of wolves, which occasioned the place where the incident happened to be called Lycopolis.

2 The general nature and properties of the crocodile are sufficiently known. I shall therefore be contented with giving the reader, from different authors, such particulars of this extraordinary animal as are less notorious. The circumstance of their eating nothing during the four severe winter months seems to be untrue.

Under the shoulder of the old crocodile is a folliculus containing a thick matter, which smells like musk, a perfume much esteemed in Egypt.

The fat of the crocodile is used by the Egyptians against the rheumatism. The gall is thought good for the eyes, and for barrenness in woman. The eyes are an aphrodisiac, and as *Hasselquist affirms,* esteemed by the Arabs superior even to *ambergris.*

When the ancient prophets in the Old Testament speak of

in winter eats nothing: it is a quadruped, but
bious; it is also oviparous, and deposits its
the sand; the greater part of the day it sp
shore, but all the night in the water, as being
than the external air,[1] whose cold is increase
dew. No animal that I have seen or know
being at first so remarkably diminutive grov
vast a size. The eggs are not larger than t
geese: on leaving the shell the young is pro
ably small, but when arrived at its full size it i
times more than seventeen cubits in length:
eyes like a hog,[2] teeth large and prominent, in

a dragon, a crocodile is generally to be understood.
a sea or a jannin?' See Job vii. 12; where, accordin
mer, a crocodile alone can be meant. The animal is
extraordinary strength. 'One of twelve feet,' says
'after a long fast threw down with the stroke of his
or six men and a bale of coffee.' They sleep in the
not soundly. They seldom descend below the Thel
never below Grand Cairo. Some have been seen
long. Herodotus says it has no tongue, but it has
substance like a tongue, which serves it to turn its
is said to move only the upper jaw; and to lay fifty
is not a little remarkable that the ancient name being c
the Egyptians now call it timsah.—*T.*

1 Water exposed to violent heat during the day p
its warmth in the night, and is then much less cold
external air.—*Larcher.* From consulting modern t
we find the remarks of Herodotus on the crocodile, e

tion to the dimensions of its body; but, unlike all other animals, it has no tongue. It is farther and most singularly distinguished by only moving its upper jaw. Its feet are armed with strong fangs; the skin is protected by hard scales regularly divided. In the open air its sight is remarkably acute, but it cannot see at all in the water; living in the water, its throat is always full of leeches; beasts and birds universally avoid it, the trochilus alone excepted, which, from a sense of gratitude, it treats with kindness. When the crocodile leaves the water it reclines itself on the sand, and generally towards the west, with its mouth open: the trochilus entering its throat destroys the leeches; in acknowlegement for which service it never does the trochilus injury.

LXIX. This animal, by many of the Egyptians is esteemed sacred,[1] by others it is treated as an enemy.[2] They who live near Thebes, and the lake Mœris, hold

erroneous reference to the magnitude rather than the brightness of its eye.

> Large is his front, and when his burnish'd eyes
> Lift their broad lids, the morning seems to rise.
>
> *Dr. Aikin, Poetical Use of Nat. Hist.*

1 On this subject we have the following singular story in Maximus Tyrius. An Egyptian woman brought up the young one of a crocodile. The Egyptians esteemed her singularly fortunate, and revered her as the nurse of a deity. The woman had a son about the same age with the crocodile, and they grew up and played together. No harm ensued whilst the crocodile was gentle from being weak; but when it got its strength it devoured the child. The woman exulted in the death of her son, and considered her fate as blessed in the extreme, in thus becoming the victim of their domestic god.—*T.*

2 These were the people of Tentyra in particular, now called Dendera; they were famous for their intrepidity as well as *art in overcoming* crocodiles. For a particular account of their manner of treating them, see Pliny, viii. 25. —*T.*

the crocodile in religious veneration; they select one, which they render tame and docile, suspending golden ornaments from it ears,[1] and sometimes gems of value; the fore-feet are secured by a chain. They feed it with the flesh of the sacred victims, and with other appointed food. While it lives they treat it with unceasing attention, and when it dies it is first embalmed, and afterwards deposited in a sacred chest. They who live in or near Elephantine, so far from considering these beasts as sacred, make them an article of food: they call them not crocodiles, but champsæ.[2] The name of crocodiles was first imposed by the Ionians, from their resemblance to lizards, so named by them, which are produced in the hedges.

LXX. Among the various methods that are used to take the crocodile,[3] I shall only relate one which most deserves attention: they fix on a hook a piece of

1 This seems to suppose that the crocodile has ears externally: nevertheless those which the Sultan sent to Louis the Fourteenth, and which the Academy of Sciences dissected, had none. They found in them indeed apertures of the ears placed below the eyes, but concealed and covered with skin, which had the appearance of two eyelids intirely closed. When the animal was alive, and out of the water, these lids probably opened. However this may be, it was, as may be presumed, to these membranes that the ear-rings were fixed. —*Larcher*.

2 The crocodile had many names, such as carmin, souchus, campsa. This last signified an ark or receptacle.—*Bryant*.

3 The most common way of killing the crocodile is by shooting it. The ball must be directed towards the belly, where the skin is soft, and not armed with scales like the back. Yet they give an account of a method of catching them something like that which Herodotus relates. They make some animal cry at a distance from the river, and when the crocodile comes out they thrust a spear into his body, to which a rope is tied: they then let him go into the water to spend himself; and afterwards drawing him out, run a pole into his mouth, and jumping on his back tie his jaws together.—*Pococke*.

swine's flesh, and suffer it to float into the middle of the stream; on the banks they have a live hog, which they beat till it cries out. The crocodile hearing the noise makes towards it, and in the way encounters and devours the bait. They then draw it on shore, and the first thing they do is to fill its eyes with clay; it is thus easily manageable, which it otherwise would not be.

LXXI. The hippopotamus[1] is esteemed sacred in the district of Papremis, but in no other part of Egypt.

1 It is to be observed that the hippopotamus and crocodile were symbols of the same purport: both related to the deluge; and however the Greeks might sometimes represent them, they were both in different places reverenced by the ancient Egyptians.—*Bryant;* who refers his reader on this subject to the Isis and Osiris of Plutarch.

The hippopotamus is generally supposed to be the behemoth of Scripture. Maillet says his skin is two fingers thick; and that it is so much the more difficult to kill it as there is only a small place in its forehead where it is vulnerable. Hasselquist classes it not with the amphibia but quadrupeds. It is an inveterate enemy to the crocodile, and kills it wherever it meets it. It never appears below the cataracts. The hide is a load for a camel; Maillet speaks of one which would have been a heavy load for four camels. He does great injury to the Egyptians, destroying in a very short time an intire field of corn or clover. Their manner of destroying it is too curious to be omitted: they place in his way a great quantity of pease; the beast filling himself with these, they occasion an intolerable thirst. On these he drinks large draughts of water, and the Egyptians afterwards find him dead on the shore, blown up as if killed with the strongest poison. Pennant relates, in his Synopsis of Animals, other and more plausible means of taking this animal. Its voice is between the roaring of a bull and the braying of an elephant. It is at first interrupted with frequent short pauses, but may be heard at a great distance. The oftener he goes on shore the better hopes have the Egyptians of a sufficient increase of the Nile. Pococke calls it a fish, and says that he was able to obtain little information concerning it.

The above particulars are compiled chiefly from Hasselquist, Maillet, and Pennant.—T.

I shall describe its nature and properties: it is a quadruped, its feet are cloven, and it has hoofs like an ox; the nose is short, but turned up, the teeth prominent; it resembles a horse in its mane, its tail, and its voice: it is of the size of a very large ox, and it has a skin so remarkably thick, that when dried it is made into offensive weapons.

LXXII. The Nile also produces otters, which the Egyptians venerate, as they also do the fish called lepitodus, and the eel:[1] these are sacred to the Nile, as among the birds is one called the chenalopex.[2]

LXXIII. They have also another sacred bird, which, except in a picture, I have never seen: it is called the phœnix.[3] It is very uncommon even among themselves; for according to the Heliopolitans, it comes there but once in the course of five hundred years, and then only at the decease of the parent bird.

1 Antiphanes in Athenæus, addressing himself to the Egyptians, says, 'You adore the ox: I sacrifice to the gods. You reverence the eel as a very powerful deity: we consider it as the daintiest of food.' Antiphanes and the Greek writers, who amused themselves with ridiculing the religious ceremonies of Egypt, were doubtless ignorant of the motive which caused this particular fish to be proscribed. The flesh of the eel, and some other fish, thickened the blood, and by checking the perspiration, excited all those maladies connected with the leprosy. The priests forbade the people to eat it; and to render their prohibition more effectual, they pretended to regard these fish as sacred. M. Paw pretends that the Greeks have been in an error in placing the eel amongst the sacred fish; but I have always to say to that learned man, where are your proofs?—*Larcher.*

2 This bird in figure greatly resembles the goose, but it has all the art and cunning of the fox.—*Larcher.*

3 From what is related of this bird the Phœnicians gave the name phœnix to the palm-tree, because, when burnt down to the ground, it springs up again fairer and stronger than ever.

The ancient Christians also refer to the phœnix as a type of the resurrection.—T.

If it bear any resemblance to its picture, the wings are partly of a gold and partly of a ruby color, and its form and size perfectly like the eagle. They relate one thing of it which surpasses all credibility; they say that it comes from Arabia to the temple of the sun, bearing the dead body of its parent inclosed in myrrh, which it buries. It makes a ball of myrrh shaped like an egg, as large as it is able to carry, which it proves by experiment. This done, it excavates the mass, into which it introduces the body of the dead bird; it again closes the aperture with myrrh, and the whole becomes the same weight as when composed entirely of myrrh; it then proceeds to Egypt to the temple of the sun.

LXXIV. In the vicinity of Thebes there are also sacred serpents,[1] not at all troublesome to men: they are very small, but have two horns on the top of the head. When they die they are buried in the temple of Jupiter, to whom they are said to belong.

LXXV. There is a place in Arabia, near the city Butos, which I visited for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the winged serpent.[2] I saw

1 The symbolical worship of the serpent was in the first ages very extensive, and was introduced into all the mysteries wherever celebrated. It is remarkable that wherever the Amonians founded any places of worship there was generally some story of a serpent. There was a legend about a serpent at Colchis, at Thebes, at Delphi, &c.—*Bryant*.

We have already observed that the serpent was a symbol of the sun, to which the Egyptians gave a place in their sacred tables. Nor did they content themselves with placing the serpent with their gods, but often represented even the gods themselves with the body and tail of a serpent joined to their own head.—*Montfaucon*.

2 We ought not to be too prompt either to believe, or the contrary, things which are uncommon. Although I have never seen winged serpents, I believe that they exist; for a Phrygian brought into Ionia a scorpion which had wings like those of the grasshopper.—*Pausanias*.

here a prodigious quantity of serpents' bones and ribs placed on heaps of different heights. The place itself is a strait betwixt two mountains; it opens on a wide plain which communicates with Egypt. They affirm, that in the commencement of every spring these winged serpents fly from Arabia towards Egypt, but that the ibis[1] here meets and destroys them. The Arabians say, that in acknowlegement of this service the Egyptians hold the ibis in great reverence, which is not contradicted by that people.

LXXVI. One species of the ibis is intirely black, its beak remarkably crooked, its legs as large as those of a crane, and in size it resembles the crex: this is the enemy of the serpents. The second species is the most common: these have the head and the whole of the neck naked; the plumage is white, except that on the head, the neck, the extremities of the wings, and the tail; these are of a deep black color; but the legs and the beak resemble in all respects those of the other species. The form of the flying and of the aquatic serpents is the same: the wings of the former

1 The ibis was a bird with a long neck and a crooked beak, not much unlike the stork; his legs were long and stiff; and when he put his head and neck under his wing, the figure he made, as Elian says, was something like a man's heart. It is said that the use of clysters was first found out from observations made of this bird's applying that remedy to himself, by the help of his long neck and beak. It is reported of it that it could live nowhere but in Egypt, but would pine itself to death if transported to another country.—*Montfaucon.*

In contradiction to the above, M. Larcher informs us that one was kept for several years in the Ménagerie at Versailles.—*T.*

Hasselquist calls the Ardea ibis the ibis of the ancient Egyptians, because it is very common in Egypt, and almost peculiar to that country: because it eats and destroys serpents; and because the urns found in sepulchres contain a bird of this size: it is of the size of a raven hen.

: feathered, but intirely like those of the bats. ius I have finished my account of the sacred 3.

XVII. Those Egyptians who live in the culti- parts of the country are, of all whom I have he most ingenious, being attentive to the im- ient of the memory[1] beyond the rest of man- To give some idea of their mode of life: for lays successively in every month they use , vomits, and clysters; this they do out of n to their health,[2] being persuaded that the s of the body are occasioned by the different ts received as food. Besides this, we may ven- assert, that after the Africans, there is no peo- health and constitution[3] to be compared with

invention of local memory is ascribed to Simonides. ' says Cicero, ' do I thank Simonides of Chios, who all invented the art of memory.' Simonides is by thors affirmed to have taken medicines to acquire this lishment.—*See Bayle*, article *Simonides*.

[ume remarks, that the faculty of memory was much lued in ancient times than at present; that there is iny great genius celebrated in antiquity, who is not ed for this talent; and it is enumerated by Cicero ; the sublime qualities of Cæsar.—*T*.

s assertion was true previous to the time of Herodo- l a long time afterwards; but when they began to the canals, the water putrified, and the vapors which xhaled rendering the air of Egypt very unhealthy, nt fevers soon began to appear: these became epi- ; and these vapors concentrating and becoming every re pestilential, finally caused that dreadful malady by the name of the plague. It was not so before vere sunk at all, or as long as they were kept in good but probably that part of Lower Egypt which inclines 'chis has never been healthy.—*Larcher*.

s of this country, which seems to have been regarded re with a favorable eye, that the gods have made a *terrestrial* paradise.—The air there is more pure and *t than in* any other part of the world; the women, *emales of* other species, are more fruitful than any

the Egyptians. To this advantage the climate, which is here subject to no variations, may essentially contribute: changes of all kinds, and those in particular of the seasons, promote and occasion the maladies of the body. To their bread, which they make with spelt, they give the name of cyllestis: they have no vines[1] in the country, but they drink a liquor fermented from

where else; the lands are more productive. As the men there commonly enjoy perfect health, the trees and plants never lose their verdure, and the fruits are always delicious, or at least salutary. It is true that this air, good as it is, is subject to be corrupted in some proportion to other climates. It is even bad in those parts where, when the inundations of the Nile have been very great, this river in returning to its channel, leaves marshy places, which infect the country round about: the dew is also very dangerous in Egypt.—*Quoted from Maillet, by Harmer in his Observations on Scripture.*

Pococke says that the dew of Egypt occasions very dangerous disorders in the eyes; but he adds, that they have the plague very rarely in Egypt, unless brought by infection to Alexandria, where it does not commonly spread. Some suppose that this distemper breeds in temperate weather, and that excessive cold and heat stops it: so that they have it not in Constantinople in winter, nor in Egypt in summer. The air of Cairo in particular is not thought to be wholesome; the people are much subject to fluxes, and troubled with ruptures; the small-pox also is common, but not dangerous; pulmonary diseases are unknown. Savary speaks in high terms of the healthiness of the climate; but allows that the season from February to the end of May is unhealthy. Volney, who contradicts Savary in many of his assertions, confirms what he says of the climate of Egypt.—*T.*

1 That there must have been vines in some part of Egypt, is evident from the following passage in the book of Numbers: 'And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us in unto this evil place? it is no place of seed or of figs, *or of vines*, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink.' Larcher therefore supposes Herodotus to speak only of that part of Egypt where corn was cultivated. Again, in the Psalms, we have this passage: '*He* destroyed their vines with hail-stones.' Egypt, however, certainly never was a wine country, nor is it now productive of a quantity adequate to the wants of the inhabitants.

arley:[1] they live principally on fish, either salted[2] or ried in the sun: they eat also quails,[3] ducks, and me smaller birds, without other preparation than rst salting them: but they roast and boil such other

In the time of Homer the vine grew wild in the island of icily, but it was not improved by the skill, nor did it afford liquor grateful to the taste of the savage inhabitants.—*ibbon.*

Of the small quantity of wine made anciently in Egypt, me was carried to Rome, and according to Maillet, was the ird in esteem of their wines.

1 See a Dissertation on Barley Wine, before alluded to, here, amongst a profusion of witty and humorous remarks, uch real information is communicated on this subject.—*T.*

The most vulgar people make a sort of beer of barley, ithout being malted: they put something in it to make it toxicate, and call it *bouny:* they make it ferment: it is ick and sour, and will not keep longer than three or four ays.—*Pococke.*

The invention of this liquor of barley is universally attri- uted to Osiris.—*T.*

An Englishman may in this place be excused, if he assert ith some degree of pride, that the 'wine of barley' made in is country, or in other words British beer, is superior to hat is made in any other part of the world: the beer of Bre- en is however deservedly famous. It has been asserted by me that our brewers throw dead dogs flayed into the wort, d boil them till the flesh is all consumed. 'Others,' say e authors of the Encyclopædia Britannica, 'more equitable, ttribute the excellency of our beer to the quality of our malt d water, and skill of our brewers.'

2 A distinction must here be observed betwixt sea-salt and ssil salt: the Egyptians abhorred the former, but made no cruple of using the latter.

3 'The quails of Egypt are esteemed a great delicacy, are f the size of a turtle-dove, and called by Hasselquist, Te- ao Israelitarum.' A dispute however has arisen amongst e learned, whether the food of the Israelites in the desert as a bird: many suppose that they fed on locusts. Their mense quantities seem to form an argument in favor of this tter opinion, not easily to be set aside; to which may be dded, that the Arabs at the present day eat locusts when esh, and esteem them when salted a great delicacy.—T.

birds and fishes as they have, excepting tho are preserved for sacred purposes.

LXXVIII. At the entertainments of the as the company is about to rise from the small coffin is carried round, containing a p presentation of a dead body: it is in size a of one, but never more than two cubits, an shown to the guests in rotation, the bearer ' Cast your eyes on this figure; after death y self will resemble it: drink then, and be h Such are the customs they observe at entertai

LXXIX. They contentedly adhere to the of their ancestors, and are averse to foreign n Among other things which claim our approbat have a song,[2] which is also used in Phœnicia, and other places, where it is differently nan all the things which astonished me in Egypt more perplexed me than my curiosity to know the Egyptians learned this song, so intirely re the Linus of the Greeks: it is of the remot quity among them, and they call it Manero

1 The attachment of the Egyptians to their co been a frequent subject of remark: it is neverthel lar that great numbers of them anciently lived as s other lands. Mr. Harmer observes that Hagar was tian, with many others; and that it will not be ea out from the Old Testament accounts an equal numl vants of other countries that lived in foreign la tioned there.—*T.*

2 Linus, says Diodorus Siculus, was the first in melody amongst the Greeks. We are told by Athe the strain called Linus was very melancholy. L supposed to have been the first lyric poet in Greece the master of Orpheus, Thamyris, and Hercules.

Plutarch, from Heraclides of Pontus, mention *dirges* as composed by Linus: his death gave rise *ber of songs* in honor of his memory.

ive a tradition that Maneros was the only son of their
'st monarch; and that having prematurely died, they
stituted these melancholy strains in his honor, con-
ituting their first and in earlier times their only song.

LXXX. The Egyptians surpass all the Greeks, the
acedæmonians excepted, in the reverence[1] which
ey pay to age: if a young person meet his senior,
; instantly turns aside to make way for him; if a
nior enter an apartment, the youth always rise from
eir seats: this ceremony is observed by no other of
e Greeks. When the Egyptians meet they do not
eak, but make a profound reverence, bowing with
e hand down to the knee.

LXXXI. Their habit, which they call calasiris,[2] is

1 The following story is related by Valerius Maximus: an
d Athenian going to the theatre was not able to find a place
iongst his countrymen: coming by accident where the am-
ssadors from Sparta were sitting, they all respectfully rose,
d gave him the place of honor amongst them. The people
ere loud in their applause, which occasioned a Spartan to
mark that the Athenians were not ignorant of virtue,
ough they forebore to practise it.
Savary tells his readers that reverence is at this day in
ypt exhibited on every occasion to those advanced in
ears. Various modes of testifying respect are adopted
iongst different nations, but this of rising from the seat
ems to be in a manner instinctive, and to prevail every
here.

2 This calasiris they wore next the skin, and it seems to
ive served them both for shirt and habit, it being the cus-
m of the Egyptians to go lightly clothed; it appears also to
ive been in use amongst the Greeks.—See Montfaucon.
ocke, with other modern travellers, informs us that the
ess of the Egyptians seems to have undergone very little
ange; the most simple dress being only a long shirt with
ide sleeves, tied about the middle. When they performed
y religious offices, we find from Herodotus they were
othed only in linen; and at this day when the Egyptians
ter a *mosque they put* on a white garment; which circum-
ance, Pococke remarks, might probably give rise to the use
the surplice. To this simplicity of the dress in the men,

made of linen, and fringed at the bottom; over this they throw a kind of shawl made of white wool; but in these vests of wool they are forbidden by their religion either to be buried or to enter any sacred edifice: this is a peculiarity of those ceremonies which are called Orphic[1] and Pythagorean:[2] whoever has been initiated in these mysteries can never be interred in a vest of wool, for which a sacred reason is assigned.

LXXXII. Of the Egyptians it is farther memorable, that they first imagined what month or day was to be consecrated to each deity; they also, from observing the days of nativity,[3] venture to predict the particular

it appears that the dress of the females, in costliness and magnificence, exhibits a striking contrast.

1 Those initiated into Orpheus' mysteries were called Orpheolelestai, who assured all admitted into their society of certain felicity after death: which when Philip, one of that order, but miserably poor and indigent, boasted of, Leotychidas the Spartan replied: 'Why do you not die then, you fool, and put an end to your misfortunes together with your life?' At their initiation little else was required of them besides an oath of secrecy.—*Potter*.

So little do we know about Orpheus, that Aristotle does not scruple to question his existence. The celebrated Orphic verses cited by Justin are judged by Dr. Jortin to be forgeries.

2 To be minute in our account of the school of Pythagoras would perhaps be trifling with the patience of some readers, whilst to pass it over without any notice might give offence to others. Born at Samos, he travelled to various countries; but Egypt was the great source from which he derived his knowlege. On his return to his country, he was followed by numbers of his disciples; from hence came a crowd of legislators, philosophers, and scholars, the pride of Greece. To the disciples of Pythagoras the world is doubtless indebted for the discovery of numbers, of the principles of *music*, of physics, and of morals.—*T*.

3 Many illustrious characters have in all ages and countries given way to this weakness; but that such a man as *Dryden* should place confidence in such prognostications,

rcumstances of a man's life and death: this is done the poets of Greece; but the Egyptians have cerinly discovered more things that are wonderful than l the rest of mankind. Whenever any unusual cirimstance occurs, they commit the particulars to riting, and mark the events which follow it: if they terwards observe any similar incident, they conclude at the result will be similar also.

LXXXIII. The art of divination[1] in Egypt is conied to certain of their deities. There are in this iuntry oracles of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minerva id Diana, of Mars, and of Jupiter; but the oracle Latona at Butos is held in greater estimation than iy of the rest: the oracular communication is reguted by no fixed system, but is differently obtained in fferent places.

LXXXIV. The art of medicine[2] in Egypt is thus

nnot fail to impress the mind with conviction of the melanoly truth that the most exalted talents are seldom without eir portion of infirmity.

Casting their nativity, or by calculation seeking to know w long the queen should live, was made felony by act of e 23d of Elizabeth.

Sully also was marked by this weakness; and Richelieu d Mazarin kept an astrologer in pay.—See an ingenious ssay on the Dæmon of Socrates.

1 Of such high importance was this art anciently esteemed, at no military expedition was undertaken without the prence of one or more of these diviners.

2 It is remarkable, with regard to medicine, that none of e sciences sooner arrived at perfection; for in the space of o thousand years, elapsed since the time of Hippocrates, ere has scarcely been added a new aphorism to those of at great man, notwithstanding all the care and application so many ingenious men as have since studied that science. *Dutens.*

With respect to the state of chirurgery amongst the ancients, perusal of Homer alone will be sufficient to satisfy every did reader that their knowlege and skill was far from con-

exercised: one physician is confined to the study and management of one disease: there are of course a great number who practise this art; some attend to disorders of the eyes, others to those of the head; some take care of the teeth, others are conversant with all diseases of the bowels; whilst many attend to the cure of maladies which are less conspicuous.

LXXXV. With respect to their funerals and ceremonies of mourning; whenever a man of any importance dies, the females of his family,[1] disfiguring their heads and faces with dirt, leave the corpse in the house, and run publicly about, accompanied by their female relations, with their garments in disorder, their breasts exposed, and beating themselves severely: the men on their parts do the same, after which the body is carried to the embalmers.[2]

temptible. Celsus gives an exact account and description of the operation for the stone, which implies both a knowlege of anatomy, and some degree of perfection in the art of instrument making.

The three qualities, says Bayle, of a good physician, are probity, learning, and good fortune; and whoever peruses the oath which anciently every professor of medicine was obliged to take, must both acknowlege its merits as a composition, and admire the amiable disposition which it inculcates.

1 'I was awakened before day-break by the same troop of women; their dismal cries suited very well with the lonely hour of the night. This mourning lasts for the space of seven days, during which interval the female relations of the deceased make a tour through the town morning and night, beating their breasts, throwing ashes on their heads, and displaying every artificial token of sorrow.'—*Irwin.*

The assembling together of multitudes to the place where persons have lately expired, and bewailing them in a noisy manner, is a custom still retained in the East, and seems to be considered as an honor done to the deceased.—*Harmer.*

2 The following remarks on the subject of embalming are compiled from different writers.

The Jews embalmed their dead; but instead of embowel-

XXXVI. There are certain persons legally ap-
ıted to the exercise of this profession. When a
d body is brought them, they exhibit to the friends
he deceased different models highly finished in
d. The most perfect of these they say resembles
whom I do not think it religious to name in such
ıatter; the second is of less price, and inferior in
ıt of execution: another is still more mean; they
ı inquire after which model the deceased shall be
resented: when the price is determined, the rela-
s retire, and the embalmers thus proceed:—In the
t perfect specimens of their art, they draw the
in through the nostrils, partly with a piece of
ked iron, and partly by the infusion of drugs;

, were contented with an external unction. The present
in Egypt, according to Maillet, is to wash the body re-
tedly with rose-water.

modern Jew has made an objection to the history of the
r Testament, that the quantity of spices used by Joseph
Nicodemus on the body of Christ, was enough for two
dred dead bodies.

iodorus Siculus is very minute on this subject: after
cribing the expense and ceremony of embalming, he adds
; the relations of the deceased, till the body was buried,
d neither the baths, wine, delicate food, nor fine clothes.

ı the Philosophical Transactions for 1764, a particular ac-
nt is given of the examination of a mummy.

iodorus Siculus describes three methods of embalming,
h the first of which our author does not appear to have
n acquainted. The form and appearance of the whole
y was so well preserved, that the deceased might be
wn by their features.

he Romans had the art of embalming as well as the Egyp-
ıs; and if what is related of them be true, this art had
ved to greater perfection in Rome than in Egypt.—*See*
ıtfaucon.

. modern author remarks that the numberless mummies
ch still endure, after so long a course of ages, ought to
rtain to the Egyptians the glory of having carried chemis-
to a degree of perfection attained but by few. Some
erns have attempted by certain preparations to preserve
bodies intire, but to no purpose.

they then, with an Ethiopian stone, make an incision in the side, through which they extract the intestines; these they cleanse thoroughly, washing them with palm-wine, and afterwards covering them with pounded aromatics: they then fill the body with powder of pure myrrh,[1] casia, and other perfumes, except frankincense. Having sown up the body, it is covered with nitre[2] for the space of seventy days,[3] which time they may not exceed; at the end of this period it is washed, closely wrapped in bandages of cotton,[4] dipped in a gum[5] which the Egyptians use as glue: it is then returned to the relations, who enclose the body in a case of wood made to resemble a human figure, and place it against the wall in the repository of their dead. The above is the most costly mode of embalming.

LXXXVII. They who wish to be less expensive adopt the following method: they neither draw out the intestines nor make any incision in the dead body, but inject an unguent made from the cedar; after taking proper means to secure the injected oil within

1 Instead of myrrh and casia, the Jews in embalming used myrrh and aloes.

2 Larcher says this was not of the nature of our nitre, but a fixed alkaline salt.

3 'If the nitre or natrum had been suffered,' says Larcher, 'to remain for a longer period, it would have attacked the solid or fibrous parts, and dissolved them; if it had been a neutral salt, like our nitre, this precaution would not have been necessary.'

4 By the byssus cotton seems clearly to be meant, 'which,' says Larcher, 'was probably consecrated by their religion to the purpose of embalming.' Mr. Greaves asserts that these bandages in which the mummies were involved were of linen: but he appears to be mistaken. There are two species of this plant, annual and perennial; it was the latter which was cultivated in Egypt.

5 This was gum arabic. Pococke says it is produced from the acacia, which is very common in Egypt, the same as the acacia called *cyale* in Arabia Petræa: in Egypt it is called *sount*.

the body, it is covered with nitre for the time above specified:[1] on the last day they withdraw the liquor before introduced, which brings with it all the bowels and intestines; the nitre eats away the flesh, and the skin and bones only remain: the body is returned in this state, and no further care taken concerning it.

LXXXVIII. There is a third mode of embalming appropriated to the poor. A particular kind of ablution is made to pass through the body, which is afterwards left in nitre for the above seventy days, and then returned.

LXXXIX. The wives of men of rank, and such females as have been distinguished by their beauty or importance, are not immediately on their decease delivered to the embalmers: they are usually kept for three or four days, which is done to prevent any indecency being offered to their persons.

XC. If an Egyptian or a foreigner be found, either destroyed by a crocodile or drowned in the water, the city nearest which the body is discovered is obliged to embalm and pay it every respectful attention, and afterwards deposit it in some consecrated place; no friend or relation is suffered to interfere; the whole process is conducted by the priests of the Nile,[2] who

1 According to Irwin, the time of mourning of the modern Egyptians is only seven days: the Jews in the time of Moses mourned thirty days. The mourning for Jacob, we find from Genesis, chap. l. 3, was the time here prescribed for the process of embalming; but how are we to explain the preceding verses?

2 That the Nile was esteemed and worshipped as a god, having cities, priests, festivals, and sacrifices consecrated to it, is sufficiently evident.—'No god,' says Plutarch, 'is more solemnly worshipped than the Nile.'—'The grand festival of the Nile,' says Heliodorus, 'was the most solemn festival of the Egyptians: they regard him as the rival of heaven, since without clouds or rain he waters the lands.'

bury it themselves with a respect to which a lifeless corpse would hardly seem entitled.

XCI. To the customs of Greece they express aversion; and, to say the truth, to those of all other nations. This remark applies, with only one exception, to every part of Egypt. Chemmis is a place of considerable note in the Thebaid; it is near Neapolis, and remarkable for a temple of Perseus the son of Danae. This temple is of a square figure, and surrounded with palm-trees. The vestibule, which is very spacious, is constructed of stone, and on the summit are placed two large marble statues. Within the consecrated inclosure stand the shrine and statue of Perseus; who, as the inhabitants affirm, often appears in the country and the temple. They sometimes find one of his sandals, which are of the length of two cubits; and whenever this happens, fertility reigns through Egypt. Public games, after the manner of the Greeks, are celebrated in his honor. On this occasion they have every variety of gymnastic exercise. The rewards of the conquerors are cattle, vests, and skins. I was once induced to inquire why Perseus made his appearance to them alone, and why they were distinguished from the rest of Egypt by the celebration of gymnastic exercises?[1] They informed me in return that Perseus

The memory of these ancient superstitions is still preserved, and is seen in the great pomp with which the canal of Grand Cairo is opened every year. It appears also from the representation of modern travellers, that the Egyptian women bathe in the Nile at the time of its beginning to rise, to express their veneration for the benefits it confers on their country. Irwin tells us that a sacred procession along the banks of the Nile is annually made by women on the first visible rise of the river.

1 These were five in number. They began with the foot race, which was the most ancient. The second was leaping with weights in the hands; and mention is made in Pausanias,

was a native of their country; as were also Danaus and Lynceus, who made a voyage into Greece, and from whom, in regular succession, they related how Perseus was descended. This hero visited Egypt for the purpose, as the Greeks also affirm, of carrying from Africa the Gorgon's head.[1] Happening to come among them, he saw and was known to his relations. The name of Chemmis he had previously known from his mother, and himself instituted the games which they continued to celebrate.

XCII. These which I have described are the manners of those Egyptians who live in the higher parts of the country. They who inhabit the marshy grounds differ in no material instance. Like the Greeks, they confine themselves to one wife.[2] To procure them-

of a man who leaped fifty-two feet. The third was wrestling: the victor was required to throw his adversary three times. The fourth was the disk; and the fifth boxing. This last was sometimes with the naked fist, and sometimes with the cæstus.

1 The Gorgons were three in number, sisters, the daughters of Phorcys, a sea-god, and Ceto, of whom Medusa was the chief, or according to some authors the only one who was mortal. Her story is this: independent of her other accomplishments, her golden hair was so very beautiful that it captivated the god Neptune in the temple of Minerva. The goddess in anger changed her hair into snakes, the sight of which transformed the spectators into stones. From the union of Medusa with Neptune Pegasus was born; but after that, no one with impunity could look at Medusa. Perseus, borrowing the wings of Mercury, and the shield of Minerva, came suddenly on her when she and her snakes were asleep, and cut off her head.

But in every circumstance of the mythology of the Gorgons, there is great disagreement in different ancient authors: according to some the blood of Medusa alone produced Pegasus.

The head of Medusa frequently exercised the skill of the *more ancient artists*, who, notwithstanding what is mentioned above, sometimes represented it as exceedingly beautiful.

2 *Modern travellers inform* us that although the Mahome-

selves more easily the means of sustenance, they make use of the following expedient: when the waters have risen to their extremest height, and all their fields are overflowed, there appears above the surface an immense quantity of plants of the lily species, which the Egyptians call the lotos:[1] these having cut down, they dry in the sun. The seed of the flower, which resembles that of the poppy, they bake, and make into a kind of bread; they also eat the root of this plant, which is round, of an agreeable flavor, and about the size of an apple. There is a second species of the

tan law allows every man to have four wives, many are satisfied with one.

'The equality in the number of males and females born into the world intimates,' says Mr. Paley, 'the intention of God, that one woman should be assigned to one man.'

'From the practice of polygamy permitted amongst the Turks,' says Volney, 'the men are enervated very early. But still it is no new remark, that the conversion of infidels is retarded by the prohibition of more wives than one.'

That the Greeks did not always confine themselves to one wife we learn from certain authority. Euripides was known to be a woman-hater, 'but,' says Hume, 'it was because he was coupled to two noisy vixens.' The reader will find many ingenious remarks and acute reasonings in Hume's 19th Essay on polygamy and divorces.

1 The lotos is an aquatic plant peculiar to Egypt, which grows in rivulets, and by the side of lakes. There are two species, the one bearing a white, the other a blueish flower. The root of the first species is round, resembling a potatoe, and is eaten by the inhabitants who live near the lake Menzala.—*Savary*.

The lotos is of the lily species.—*T*.

The byblus or papyrus the ancients converted to a great variety of uses, for particulars of which consult Pliny and Strabo. It is a rush, and grows to the height of eight or nine feet; it is now very scarce in Egypt, for Hasselquist makes no mention of it. The use of the papyrus for books was not found out till after the building of Alexandria. As anciently books were rolled up, the nature of the papyrus made it very convenient for this purpose. They were on the inner skins of the stalk. From papyrus comes our English word paper. —*T*.

lotos, which grows in the Nile, and which is not unlike a rose. The fruit, which grows from the bottom of the root, resembles a wasp's nest: it is found to contain a number of kernels of the size of an olive stone, which are very grateful, either fresh or dried. Of the byblus, which is an annual plant, after taking it from a marshy place, where it grows, they cut off the tops, and apply them to various uses: they eat or sell what remains, which is nearly a cubit in length. To make this a still greater delicacy there are many who previously roast it. With a considerable part of this people fish constitutes the principal article of food; they dry it in the sun, and eat it without other preparation.

XCIII. Those fishes which are gregarious seldom multiply in the Nile; they usually propagate in the lakes. At the season of spawning they move in vast multitudes towards the sea: the males lead the way, and emit the ingendering principle in their passage; this the females absorb as they follow, and in consequence conceive. As soon as the seminal matter has had its proper operation, they leave the sea, return up the river, and endeavor to regain their accustomed haunts. The mode however of their passage is reversed; the females lead the way, whilst the males follow. The females do now what the males did before; they drop their spawn, resembling small grains of millet, which the males eagerly devour. Every particle of this contains a small fish; and each which escapes the males regularly increases till it becomes a fish. Of these fish, such as are taken in their passage towards the sea are observed to have the left part of their heads depressed, which on their return is observed of their right. The cause of this is obvious: as they pass to the sea they rub themselves against the banks on the left side; as they return they keep

closely to the same bank, and in both instances press against it, that they may not be obliged to deviate from their course by the current of the stream. As the Nile gradually rises, the water first fills those cavities of the land which are nearest the river. As soon as ever they are saturated, an abundance of small fry may be discovered. The cause of their increase may perhaps be thus explained: when the Nile ebbs, the fish, which in the preceding season had deposited their spawn in the mud, retreat reluctantly with the stream; but at the proper season, when the river flows, this spawn is matured into fish.

XCIV. The inhabitants of the marshy grounds make use of an oil which they term the kiki, expressed from the Sillicyprian plant. In Greece this plant springs spontaneously, without any cultivation; but the Egyptians sow it on the banks of the river, and of the canals; it there produces fruit in great abundance, but of a very strong odor: when gathered they obtain from it, either by friction or pressure, an unctuous liquid, which diffuses an offensive smell, but for burning is equal in quality to the oil of olives.

XCV. The Egyptians are provided with a remedy against gnats, of which there are a surprising number. As the wind will not suffer these insects to rise far from the ground, the inhabitants of the higher part of the country usually sleep in turrets. They who live in the marshy grounds use this substitute; each person has a net, with which they fish by day, and which they render useful by night. They cover their beds with their nets, and sleep securely beneath them. If they slept in their common habits, or under linen, the gnats would not fail to torment them, which they do not even attempt through a net.

XCVI. Their vessels of burden are constructed of

a species of thorn which resembles the lotos of Cyrene, and which distils a gum. From this thorn they cut planks about two cubits square: after disposing these in the form of bricks, and securing them strongly together, they place from side to side benches for the rowers. They do not use timber artificially carved, but force the planks together with the bark of the byblus made into ropes. They have one rudder, which goes through the keel of the vessel; their mast is made of the same thorn, and the sails are formed from the byblus. These vessels are haled along by land; for unless the wind be very favorable they can make no way against the stream. When they go with the current, they throw from the head of the vessel a hurdle made of tamarisk, fastened together with reeds; they have also a perforated stone of the weight of two talents; this is let fall at the stern, secured by a rope. The name of this kind of bark is baris,[1] which the above hurdle, impelled by the tide, draws swiftly along. The stone at the stern regulates its motion. They have immense numbers of these vessels, and some of them of the burden of many thousand talents.

XCVII. During the inundation of the Nile, the cities only are left conspicuous, appearing above the waters like the islands of the Ægean sea. As long as the flood continues, vessels do not confine themselves to the channel of the river, but traverse the fields and the plains. They who then go from Naucratis to

1 Part of the ceremony in most of the ancient mysteries consisted in carrying about a kind of ship or boat; which custom, on due examination, will be found to relate to nothing else but Noah and the deluge. The ship of Isis is well known. The name of this, and of all the navicular shrines, was Baris; which is very remarkable, for it was the very *name of the mountain*, according to Nicolas Damascenus, *on which the ark of Noah* rested.—*Bryant*.

Memphis pass by the pyramids; this however is not the usual course, which lies through the point of the Delta and the city of Cercasorus. If from the sea and the town of Canopus the traveller desires to go by the plains to Naucratis, he must pass by Anthilla[1] and Archandros.

XCVIII. Of these places Anthilla is the most considerable: whoever may be sovereign of Egypt, it is assigned perpetually as part of the revenues of the queens, and appropriated to the particular purpose of providing them with sandals; this has been observed ever since Egypt was tributary to Persia. I should suppose that the other city derives its name from Archander, the son of Pthius, son-in-law of Danaus, and grandson of Achæus. There may probably have been some other Archander, for the name is certainly not Egyptian.

XCIX. All that I have hitherto asserted has been the result of my own personal remarks and diligent inquiry. I shall now proceed to relate what I learned from conversing with Egyptians, to which I shall occasionally add what I myself have witnessed.—Menes, the first sovereign of Egypt, as I was informed by the priests, effectually detached the ground on which Memphis[2] stands from the water. Before his time the river flowed intirely along the sandy mountain on the

1 Anthilla was probably the same place with Gynæcopolis; the superior excellence of its wines made it in after-times celebrated.—*Larcher*.

2 Authors are exceedingly divided about the site of ancient Memphis.

'Is it not astonishing,' remarks Savary, 'that the site of the ancient metropolis of Egypt, a city near seven leagues in circumference, containing magnificent temples and palaces, which art labored to render eternal, should at present be a subject of dispute among the learned. Pliny,' continues Sa-

side of Africa. But this prince, by constructing a bank at the distance of a hundred stadia from Memphis, towards the south, diverted the course of the Nile,[1] and led it by means of a new canal through the centre of the mountains. And even at the present period, under the dominion of the Persians, this artificial channel is annually repaired, and regularly defended. If the river were here once to break its banks, the town of Memphis would be inevitably ruined. It was the same Menes who, on the solid ground thus rescued from the water, first built the town now known by the name of Memphis, which is situate in the narrowest part of Egypt. To the north and the west of Memphis he also sunk a lake, communicating with the river, which, from the situation of the Nile, it was not possible to effect towards the east. He moreover erected on the same spot a magnificent temple in honor of Vulcan.

C. The priests afterwards recited to me from a book the names of three hundred and thirty sovereigns (suc-

vary, 'removes the difficulty past doubt. The three grand pyramids seen by the watermen from all parts stand on a barren and rocky hill, between Memphis and the Delta, one league from the Nile, two from Memphis, and near the village of Busiris.'

Mr. Gibbon does not speak of the situation of ancient Memphis with his usual accuracy and decision.

'On the western side of the Nile, at a small distance to the east of the pyramids, and at a small distance to the south of the Delta, Memphis, one hundred and fifty furlongs in circumference, displayed the magnificence of ancient kings.'

D'Anville, the most accurate of all geographers, places it fifteen miles above the point of the Delta, which he says corresponds exactly with the measurement of three schæni.—*T.*

1 The course of this ancient bed is not unknown at prepresent: it may be traced across the desert, passing west of *the lakes of Natroun,* by petrified wood, masts, and lateen *yards, the wrecks of* vessels by which it was anciently navi*gated.—Savary.*

cessors of Menes); in this continued series eighteen were Ethiopians,[1] and one a female native of the country: all the rest were men and Egyptians. The female was called Nitocris, which was also the name of the Babylonian princess. They affirm that the Egyptians having slain her brother, who was their sovereign, she was appointed his successor; and that afterwards, to avenge his death, she destroyed by artifice a great number of Egyptians. By her orders a large subterraneous apartment was constructed, professedly for festivals, but in reality for a different purpose. She invited to this place a great number of those Egyptians whom she knew to be the principal instruments of her brother's death, and then by a private canal introduced the river amongst them. They added, that to avoid the indignation of the people, she suffocated herself in an apartment filled with ashes.

CI. None of these monarchs, as my informers related, were distinguished by any acts of magnificence or renown, except Mœris, who was the last of them. Of this prince various monuments remain. He built the north entrance of the temple of Vulcan, and sunk a lake, the dimensions of which I shall hereafter describe. Near this he also erected pyramids, whose magnitude, when I speak of the lake, I shall particularise. These are lasting monuments of his fame; but as none of the preceding princes performed any thing memorable, I shall pass them by in silence.

CII. The name of Sesostris,[2] who lived after them,

1 These eighteen Ethiopian princes prove that the throne was not always hereditary in Egypt.—*Larcher*.

2 See Bouhier's Chronological Account of the Kings of *Egypt* from Mœris to Cambyses, according to which Mœris *died in the* year of the world 3360, and was succeeded by Se*sostris in 3361*.

claims our attention. According to the priests, he was the first who, passing the Arabian gulf in a fleet of long vessels, reduced under his authority the inhabitants bordering on the Red Sea. He proceeded yet farther, till he came to a sea, which on account of the number of shoals was not navigable. On his return to Egypt, as I learned from the same authority, he levied a mighty army, and made a martial progress by land, subduing all the nations whom he met with on his march. Whenever he was opposed by a people who proved themselves brave, and who discovered an ardor for liberty, he erected columns in their country, on which he inscribed his name, and that of his nation, and how he had here conquered by the force of his arms; but where he met with little or no opposition, on similar columns which he erected, he added marks expressive of the pusillanimity of the people.

CIII. Continuing his progress, he passed over from Asia to Europe, and subdued the countries of Scythia and Thrace. Here I believe he stopped, for monuments of his victory are discovered thus far, but no farther. On his return he came to the river Phasis; but I am by no means certain whether he left[1] a detachment of his forces as a colony in this district, or whether some of his men, fatigued with their laborious service, remained here of their own accord.

CIV. The Colchians certainly appear to be of Egyp-

Diodorus Siculus makes this prince posterior to Mœris by seven generations; but, as Larcher justly observes, this writer cannot be intitled to an equal degree of credit with Herodotus. Sesostris has been differently named. Tacitus calls him Rhampses; Scaliger, both Rhamesses and Ægyptus. He is named Sesostris in Diodorus Siculus; Sesosis in Pliny, &c.—*T.*

1 Pliny assures us, though I know not on what authority, *that Sesostris was* defeated by the Colchians.—Larcher.

tian origin: which indeed, before I had conversed with any one on the subject, I had always believed. But as I was desirous of being satisfied, I interrogated the people of both countries: the result was, that the Colchians seemed to have better remembrance of the Egyptians, than the Egyptians of the Colchians. The Egyptians were of opinion that the Colchians were descended of part of the troops of Sesostris. To this I myself was also inclined, because they are black, and have hair short and curling,[1] which latter circumstance may not, however, be insisted on as evidence, because it is common to many other nations. But a second and better argument is, that the inhabitants of Colchos, Egypt, and Ethiopia, are the only people who from time immemorial have used circumcision. The Phœnicians and the Syrians of Palestine[2] acknowlege that they borrowed this custom from Egypt. Those Syrians who live near the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbors the Macrones, confessed that they learned it, and that too recently, from the Colchians. These are the only people who use circumcision, and

1 'That is,' says Volney, in his remark on this passage, 'that the ancient Egyptians were real negroes, of the same species with all the natives of Africa; and though, as might be expected, after mixing so many ages with the Greeks and Romans, they have lost the intensity of their first color, yet they still retain strong marks of their original conformation.'

2 Mr. Gibbon takes the opportunity of this passage to make it appear that, under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, the Jews languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves. 'Herodotus,' says the English historian, 'who visited Asia whilst it obeyed the Persian empire, slightly mentions the Jews of Palestine.' But this seems to be a partial quotation; for taking into consideration the whole of the context, Herodotus seems precluded from mentioning the Syrians of Palestine in this place otherwise than slightly.—*T.*

who use it precisely like the Egyptians. As this practice can be traced both in Egypt and Ethiopia to the remotest antiquity, it is not possible to say which first introduced it. The Egyptians certainly communicated it to the other nations by means of their commercial intercourse. The Phœnicians, who are connected with Greece, do not any longer imitate the Egyptians in this particular, their male children not being circumcised.

CV. But the Colchians have another mark of resemblance to the Egyptians. Their manufacture of linen is alike and peculiar to those two nations; they have similar manners, and the same language. The linen which comes from Colchis the Greeks call Sardonian; the linen of Egypt, Egyptian.

CVI. The greater part of the pillars which Sesostris erected in the places which he conquered are no longer to be found. Some of them I myself have seen in Palestine of Syria, with the inscriptions which I have before mentioned. In Ionia there are two figures of this king formed out of a rock; one is in the way from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other betwixt Sardis and Smyrna. Both of them represent a man, five palms in height; the right hand holds a javelin, the left a bow; the rest of his armor is partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopian. Across his breast, from shoulder to shoulder, there is this inscription in the sacred characters of Egypt. 'I conquered this country by the force of my arms.' Who the person is, here represented, or of what country, are not specified: both are told elsewhere. Some have been induced, on examination, to pronounce this the figure of Memnon, but they must certainly be mistaken.

CVII. The same priests informed me that Sesostris returned to Egypt with an immense number of captives

of the different nations which he had conquered. On his arrival at the Pelusian Daphne, his brother, to whom he had confided the government in his absence, invited him and his family to take up their abode with him; which, when they had done, he surrounded their apartments with combustibles, and set fire to the building.[1] As soon as Sesostris discovered the villany, he deliberated with his wife, who happened to be with him, what measures to pursue; she advised him to place two of their six children across the parts which were burning, that they might serve as a bridge for the preservation of themselves and the rest. This Sesostris executed; two of the children consequently perished; the remainder were saved with their father.

CVIII. Sesostris did not omit to avenge himself on his brother: on his return to Egypt, he employed the captives of the different nations he had vanquished to collect those immense stones which were employed in the temple of Vulcan. They were also compelled to make those vast and numerous canals[2] by which

1 Diodorus Siculus relates the matter differently. The brother of Sesostris made him and his attendants drunk, and in the night set fire to his apartment. The guards being intoxicated, were unable to assist their master; but Sesostris, imploring the interposition of the gods, fortunately escaped. He expressed his gratitude to the deities in general, and to Vulcan in particular, to whose kindness principally he thought himself indebted.—*T.*

2 Probably one reason why Sesostris opened canals, was to prevent these hurtful inundations, as well as to convey water to those places where they might think proper to have villages built, and to water the lands more conveniently, at such times as the waters might retire early; for they might find by experience, after the canals were opened, that instead of apprehending inundations, they had great reason, as at present, to fear a want of water.—*Pococke.*

There are still eighty canals in Egypt like rivers, several of which are twenty, thirty, and forty leagues in length.—*Savary.*

is intersected. In consequence of their invo-
r labors, Egypt, which was before conveniently
d to those who travelled on horseback or in
ges, became unfit for both. The canals occur
n, and in so many winding directions, that to
y on horseback is disagreeable, in carriages im-
e. The prince however was influenced by a
ic motive: before his time those who inhabited
and parts of the country, at a distance from the
on the ebbing of the Nile suffered great distress
he want of water, of which they had none but
uddy wells.

.. The same authority informed me that Sesos-
de a regular distribution of the lands of Egypt.
igned to each Egyptian a square piece of ground;
is revenues were drawn from the rent which
individual annually paid him. Whoever was a
r by the inundation of the Nile was permitted
e the king acquainted with his loss. Certain
were appointed to inquire into the particulars
injury, that no man might be taxed beyond his
. It may not be improbable to suppose that
as the origin of geometry,[1] and that the Greeks

ame author adds that the chain buckets used in Egypt
erse the water over the high lands gave to Archimedes,
his voyage in Egypt, the idea of his ingenious screw,
is still in use.
untry where nothing is so seldom met with as a spring,
ere rain is an extraordinary phenomenon, could only
en fertilised by the Nile. Accordingly, from times of
st remote antiquity, fourscore considerable canals
igged at the entrance of the kingdom, besides a great
of small ones, which distributed these waters all over
—*Raynal.*

e natives of Thebes, above all others, were renowned
ir great *wisdom*. Their improvements in geometry are
to have been owing to the nature of their country;
land of Egypt being annually overflowed, and all

learned it from hence. As to the pole, the gnomon,[1] and the division of the day[2] into twelve parts, the Greeks received them from the Babylonians.

CX. Except Sesostris, no monarch of Egypt was ever master of Ethiopia. This prince placed as a monument some marble statues before the temple of Vulcan: two of these were thirty cubits in height, and represented him and his queen; four others of twenty cubits each, represented his four children. A long time afterwards Darius, king of Persia, was desirous of placing before these a statue of himself,[3] but the high-priest of Vulcan violently opposed it, urging that the actions of Darius were far less splendid than those of the Egyptian Sesostris. This latter prince had vanquished as many nations as Darius, and

property confounded, they were obliged, on the retreat of the waters, to have recourse to geometrical decision, in order to determine the limits of their possessions.—*Bryant.*

1 The text is a literal translation of the original, to which as it stands it will not be very easy to annex any meaning. My own opinion, from reflecting on the context, is, that it signifies a dial with its index.—*T.*

2 From this passage it appears that in the time of Herodotus the day was divided into twelve parts: at the same time we may not conclude, with Leon, Allatius, and Wesseling, that to these twelve parts the name of *hours* was given. It is by no means certain when the twenty-four parts of the day were first distinguished by the name of hours, but it was doubtless very late; and the passages cited from Anacreon and Xenophon to prove the contrary ought not to be interpreted by what we call hours.

3 After a series of ages, when Egypt was reduced under the power of Persia, Darius, the father of Xerxes, was desirous of placing an image of himself at Memphis, before the statue of Sesostris. This was strenuously opposed by the chief priest, in an assembly of his order, who asserted that the acts of Darius had not yet surpassed those of Sesostris. The king did not take this freedom amiss, but was rather pleased with it; saying, that if he lived as long as Sesostris, he would endeavor to equal him.—Diodorus Siculus.

had also subdued the Scythians, who had never yielded to the arms of Darius. Therefore, says he, it can never be just to place before the statues of Sesostris the figure of a prince, whose exploits have not been equally illustrious. They told me that Darius forgave this remonstrance.[1]

CXI. On the death of Sesostris, his son Pheron,[2] as the priests informed me, succeeded to his throne. This prince undertook no military expedition; but by the action I am going to relate he lost the use of his eyes:—when the Nile was at its extreme height of eighteen cubits, and had overflowed the fields, a sudden wind arose which made the waters impetuously swell; at this juncture the prince hurled a javelin into the vortex of the stream: he was in a moment deprived of sight, and continued blind for the space of ten years; in the eleventh an oracle was communicated to him from Butos, intimating that the period of his punishment was expired, and that he should recover his sight by having his eyes washed by a virtuous woman. Pheron first made the experiment with his own wife, and when this did not succeed he applied to other women indiscriminately. Having at length recovered his sight, he assembled all the women, except her who was the cause of the removal of his calamity, in a city which is to this day called Ery-

1 It does not however appear from hence that Darius was ever in Egypt. The resistance of the chief priest might probably be told him, and he might forgive it. It appears by a passage in Aristotle that Darius attacked and conquered this country; if so, the priest of Vulcan might personally oppose Darius. The authority of Aristotle is of no weight compared with that of our historian; and probably, in that writer, instead *of Darius* we should read Xerxes.—Larcher.

2 This prince is supposed to be the first Egyptian Pharaoh.—*T.*

threbolos;[1] all these, with the town itself, he destroyed by fire, but he married the female who had deserved his gratitude. On his recovery he sent magnificent presents to all the more celebrated temples; to that of the sun he sent two obelisks too remarkable to be unnoticed: each was formed of one solid stone one hundred cubits high, and eighty broad.

CXII. The successor of Pheron, as the same priests informed me, was a citizen of Memphis, whose name in the Greek tongue was Proteus.[2] His shrine is still to be seen at Memphis; it is situated to the south of the temple of Vulcan, and is very magnificently decorated. The Phœnicians of Tyre dwell in its vicinity, and indeed the whole of the place is denominated the Tyrian camp. In this spot, consecrated to Proteus, there is also a small temple, dedicated to Venus the stranger: this Venus I conjecture is no other than Helen, the daughter of Tyndaris, because she, I was told, resided for some time at the court of Proteus, and because this building is dedicated to Venus the

1 Diodorus Siculus calls this place Heliopolis; and says that the woman, through whose means Pheron was cured of his blindness, was the wife of a gardener.—*T.*

2 Proteus was an Egyptian title of the deity, under which he was worshipped, both in the Pharos and at Memphis. He was the same as Osiris and Canopus, and particularly the god of mariners, who confined his department to the sea. From hence I think we may unravel the mystery about the pilot of Menelaus, who is said to have been named Canopus, and to have given name to the principal sea-port in Egypt.—*Bryant.*

No antique figure has yet been met with of Proteus: on this circumstance Mr. Spence remarks, that his character was far more manageable for poets than for sculptors or painters. The former might very well describe all the variety of shapes that he could put on, and point out the transition from one to the other, but the artists must have been content to show him either in his own natural shape, or in some one alone of all his various forms. Of this deity the best description is given in the Georgics of Virgil.—T.

stranger; no other temple of Venus is distinguished by this appellation.

CXIII. To my inquiries on the subject[1] of Helen, these priests answered as follows: Paris having carried off Helen from Sparta, was returning home, but meeting with contrary winds in the Ægean, he was driven into the Egyptian sea. As the winds continued unfavorable, he proceeded to Egypt, and was driven to the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and to Tarichea: in that situation was a temple of Hercules, which still remains; to this if any slave fled for refuge, and in testimony of his consecrating himself to the service of the god, submitted to be marked with certain sacred characters, no one was suffered to molest him. This custom has been strictly observed from its first institution to the present period. The servants of Paris, aware of the privileges of this temple, fled thither from their master, and with the view of injuring Paris, became the suppliants of the divinity. They published many accusations against their master, disclosing the whole affair of Helen, and the wrong done to Menelaus: this they did not only in the presence of the priests, but also before Thonis,[2] the governor of the district.

CXIV. Thonis instantly despatched a messenger to

1 On no subject, ancient or modern, have writers been more divided than about the precise period of the Trojan war. Larcher, after discussing this matter very fully, in his Essay on Chronology, is of opinion, and his arguments appear to me at least satisfactory, that it took place about 1263 years before the vulgar era.—*T.*

2 Some writers pretend that Thonis was prince of the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and that he was the inventor of medicine in Egypt. Before he saw Helen he treated Menelaus with *great respect:* when he had seen her he made his *court to her. The city of* Thonis, and Thoth, the first Egyp*ian month, take their* names from him.

Memphis, with orders to say thus to Proteus: 'There is arrived here a Trojan, who has perpetrated an atrocious crime in Greece; he has seduced the wife of his host, and has carried her away with a great quantity of treasure: adverse winds have forced him hither: shall I suffer him to depart without molestation, or shall I seize his person and property?' The answer which Proteus sent was thus conceived: 'Whoever that man is who has violated the rights of hospitality seize and bring him before me that I may examine him.'

CXV. Thonis on this seized Paris, and detaining his vessels, instantly sent him to Proteus, with Helen[1] and all his wealth: on their arrival Proteus inquired of Paris who he was, and whence he came: Paris faithfully related the name of his family and country, and from whence he last set sail. But when Proteus proceeded to make inquiries concerning Helen, and how he obtained possession of her person, Paris hesitated in his answers: his slaves who had deserted him explained and proved the particulars of his guilt: in consequence of which Proteus made this determination: 'If I did not esteem it a very heinous crime to put any stranger to death, whom unfavorable winds have driven to my coasts, I would assuredly, thou most abandoned man, avenge that Greek whose hospitality thou hast treacherously violated. Thou hast not only seduced his wife, but having violently taken

1 This incident of the detention of Helen by Proteus is the argument of one of the tragedies of Euripides.

The poet supposes that Helen never was at Troy, but that Paris carried thither a cloud in her form.—On the death of Proteus, his son Theoclymenus prepared to make Helen his *wife*: at this juncture Menelaus was driven on the coast, *saw Helen* again, and with her concerted and accomplished *their* return to Greece.—T.

her away, still criminally detainest her; and as if this were not enough, thou hast robbed and plundered him! But as I can by no means prevail on myself to put a stranger to death, you I shall suffer to depart; the woman and your wealth I shall detain till the Greek himself thinks proper to demand her. Do you and your companions depart within three days from my coast, or expect to be treated as enemies.'

CXVI. Thus, according to the narrative of the priests, did Helen come to the court of Proteus. I conceive that this circumstance could not be unknown to Homer; but as he thought it less ornamental to his poem, he forbore to use it. That he actually did know it, is evident from that part of the Iliad where he describes the voyage of Paris: this evidence he has no where retracted. He informs us that Paris, after various wanderings, at length arrived at Sidon in Phœnicia: it is in the Bravery of Diomed:[1] the passage is this:

There lay the vestures of no vulgar art,
Sidonian maids embroider'd every part;
When from soft Sidon youthful Paris bore,
With Helen touching on the Tyrian shore.

Il. vi. 390.

1 The different parts of Homer's poems were known anciently by names taken from the subjects treated in them: thus the fifth book of the Iliad was called the *Bravery of Diomed*; and in like manner the eleventh the *Bravery of Agamemnon*; the tenth the *Night-Watch*, or the *Death of Dolon*, &c.; all of which titles are prefixed to the respective books in Clarke's and other editions from Eustathius.—See also Ælian, Var. Hist. b. xiii. c. 14. This division was more ancient than that into books, and therefore does not always coincide with it: thus the second Iliad has two names, the *Dream* or the *Trial*, and the *Catalogue*; whereas four or five books of the Odyssey are supposed to be comprised under the name of the *Story of Alcinous*. Valckenaer erroneously supposed this to be a later division of the grammarians, and therefore endeavored to explain away the expression of Herodotus, which evidently refers to it.—T.

He again introduces this subject in the Odyssey:

These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,
Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife;
Who sway'd the sceptre where prolific Nile
With various simples clothes the fatten'd soil,
With wholesome herbage mix'd, the direful bane
Of vegetable venom taints the plain.

Od. iv. 315.

Menelaus also says thus to Telemachus:

Long on the Egyptian coast by calms confined,
Heaven to my fleet refused a prosperous wind:
No vows had we preferred, no victim slain,
For this the gods each favoring gale restrain.

Od. iv. 473.

In these passages Homer confesses himself acquainte with the voyage of Paris to Egypt; for Syria border on Egypt, and the Phœnicians, to whom Sidon belong inhabit part of Syria.

CXVII. Of these the last passage confirms suffi ciently the argument, which may be deduced from th former, that the Cyprian verses[1] were never writte

1 On the subject of these verses the following sentenc occurs in Athenæus:

'The person who composed the Cyprian verses, whethe he was some Cyprian or Stasinus, or by whatever name h chooses to be distinguished,' &c. From which it appear that Athenæus had no idea of their being written by Home But we are told by Ælian, in his Various History, that Ho mer certainly did compose these verses, and gave them as marriage portion with his daughter.—See Ælian, b. ix. c. 1 in the note to which this subject is amply discussed.

The subject of this poem was the Trojan war after the birt of Helen. Venus caused this princess to be born, that sh might be able to promise Paris an accomplished beauty: t this Jupiter, by the advice of Momus, had consented i order to destroy the human race again by the war of Troy which was to take place on her account. As the author o this poem refers all the events of this war to Venus, goddes of Cyprus, the work was called by her name. 'It is ev dent,' says M. Larcher in continuation, 'that Herodo would have told the name of the author had he known it.

by Homer. These relate that Paris, in company with Helen, assisted by a favorable wind and sea, passed in three days from Sparta to Troy: on the contrary, it is asserted in the Iliad that Paris, after carrying away Helen, wandered about to various places.

CXVIII. I was desirous of knowing whether all that the Greeks relate concerning Troy had any foundation in truth; and the same priests instructed me in the following particulars, which they learned from Menelaus himself. After the loss of Helen, the Greeks assembled in great numbers at Teucris, to assist Menelaus: they disembarked and encamped: they then despatched ambassadors to Troy, whom Menelaus himself accompanied. On their arrival they made a formal demand of Helen, and of the wealth which Paris had at the same time clandestinely taken, as well as general satisfaction for the injury. The Trojans then and afterwards uniformly persisted in declaring that they had among them neither the person nor the wealth of Helen, but that both were in Egypt; and they thought it hard that they should be made responsible for what Proteus king of Egypt certainly possessed. The Greeks believing themselves deluded, laid siege to Troy, and persevered till they took it. But when Helen was not to be found in the captured town, and the same assertions concerning her were continued, they at length obtained credit, and Menelaus himself was despatched to Proteus.

CXIX. As soon as he arrived in Egypt he proceeded up the Nile to Memphis. On his relating the object of his journey, he was honorably entertained; Helen, who had been treated with respect, was restored to him, and with her all his treasures. Inattentive to these acts of kindness, Menelaus perpetrated a great enormity against the Egyptians: the winds pre-

venting his departure, he took two children[1] people of the country, and with great barbarity them in sacrifice. As soon as the circumstan known universal indignation was excited again and he was pursued; but he fled by sea into and the Egyptians could trace him no farther. above facts, some they knew as having ha among themselves, and others were the result o diligent inquiry.

CXX. This intelligence concerning Helen I re from the Egyptian priests, to which I am i to add, as my opinion, that if Helen had been a in Troy, they would certainly have restored he Greeks, with or without the consent of Paris. and his connexions could never have been s tuated, as to endanger the preservation of then and their children, merely that Paris might Helen; but even if such had been their determ at first, still after having lost in their different c with the Greeks many of their countryme among these, if the poets may be believed, sev their king's own sons, I cannot imagine bu Priam, even if he had married her himself,

1 This was doubtless to appease the winds. This sacrifice was frequent in Greece, but detestable in E *Larcher.*

In the early times of all religions, when nations w barbarous and savage, there was ever an aptness or te towards the dark part of superstition, which amon other horrors produced that of *human sacrifice.—Lord bury.*

That the custom of human sacrifice, alike cruel and gives way but very slowly to the voice of nature and son, is evident from its having been practised at s period by the enlightened people of Greece. Porph informs us, that even in his time, who lived 233 yea the Christian era, human sacrifices were common in and at Carthage.—T.

have restored Helen, if no other means had existed of averting these calamities. We may add to this, that Paris was not the immediate heir to the crown, for Hector was his superior both in age and virtue: Paris therefore could not have possessed any remarkable influence in the state, neither would Hector have countenanced the misconduct of his brother, from which he himself, and the rest of his countrymen, had experienced so many and such great calamities. But the restoration of Helen was not in their power, and the Greeks placed no dependence on their assertions, which were indisputably true; but all this, with the subsequent destruction of Troy, might be ordained by Providence to instruct mankind that the gods proportioned punishments to crimes.

CXXI. The same instructors farther told me that Proteus was succeeded by Rhampsinitus: he built the west entrance of the temple of Vulcan; in the same situation he also erected two statues, twenty-five cubits in height. That which faces the north the Egyptians call summer, the one to the south winter: this latter is treated with no manner of respect, but they worship the former, and make offerings before it. This prince possessed such abundance of wealth, that so far from surpassing, none of his successors ever equalled him in affluence. For the security of his riches, he constructed a stone edifice, connected with his palace by a wall. The man whom he employed, with a dishonest view so artfully disposed one of the stones, that two or even one person might remove it from its place. In this building, when completed, the king deposited his treasures. Some time afterwards the artist found his end approaching; and having two sons, he called them both before him, and informed them in what manner, with a view to their future emo-

lument and prosperity, he had built the king's treasury. He then explained the particular circumstances and situation of the stone, gave them minutely its dimensions, by observance of which they might become the managers of the king's riches. On the death of the father, the sons were not long before they availed themselves of their secret. Under the advantage of the night, they visited the building, discovered and removed the stone, and carried away with them a large sum of money. As soon as the king entered the apartment he saw the vessels which contained his money materially diminished: he was astonished beyond measure, for as the seals were unbroken, and every entrance properly secured, he could not possibly direct his suspicion against any one. This was several times repeated; the thieves continued their visits, and the king as regularly saw his money decrease. To effect a discovery, he ordered some traps to be placed round the vessels which contained his riches. The robbers came as before: one of them proceeding as usual directly to the vessels was caught in the snare: as soon as he was sensible of his situation he called his brother, and acquainted him with it; he withal entreated him to cut off his head without a moment's delay, as the only means of preventing his own detection and consequent loss of life: he approved and obeyed his advice, and replacing properly the stone, he returned home with the head of his brother. As soon as it was light the king entered the apartment, and seeing the body secured in the snare without a head, the building in no part disturbed, nor the smallest appearance of any one having been there, he was more astonished than ever. In this perplexity he commanded the body to be hanged from the wall, and having stationed guards on the spot, he directed

them to seize and bring before him whoever should discover any symptoms of compassion or sorrow at sight of the deceased. The mother being much exasperated at this exposure of her son, threatened the surviving brother, that if he did not contrive and execute some means of removing the body, she would immediately go to the king, and disclose all the circumstances of the robbery. The young man in vain endeavored to alter the woman's determination; he therefore put in practice the following expedient:—He got together some asses, which he loaded with flasks of wine; he then drove them near the place where the guards were stationed to watch the body of his brother; as soon as he approached, he secretly removed the pegs from the mouths of two or three of the skins, and when he saw the wine running about, he began to beat his head, and to cry out vehemently, with much pretended confusion and distress. The soldiers, perceiving the accident, instantly ran with vessels, and such wine as they were able to catch they considered as so much gain to themselves. At first, with great apparent anger, he reproached and abused them, but he gradually listened to their endeavors to console and pacify him: he then proceeded at leisure to turn his asses out of the road, and to secure his flasks. He soon entered into conversation with the guards, and affecting to be pleased with the drollery of one of them, he gave them a flask of wine: they accordingly sat down to drink, and insisted on his bearing them company: he complied with their solicitations, and a second flask was presently the effect of their civility to him. The wine had soon its effect, the guards became exceedingly drunk, and fell fast asleep; under the advantage of the night, the young man took down the body of his brother, and in derision shaved the

entertain indiscriminately every comer, on c
that each should tell her the most artful as we
most wicked thing he had ever done; if any on
disclose the circumstance of which he wishe
informed, she was to seize him, and prevent hi
The daughter obeyed the injunction of her
the thief, knowing what was intended, prepa
farther to disappoint and deceive the king. H
the arm near the shoulder from a body recent
and concealing it under his cloak, he visited th
daughter: when he was asked the same que
the rest, he replied, 'That the most wicked thin
ever done was the cutting off the head of his
who was caught in a snare in the king's treasu
most artful thing, was his making the guard
and by that means effecting the removal of l
ther's body.' On hearing this she endeavore
prehend him; but he, favored by the night, pu
her the dead arm, which she seizing, was thus d
whilst he made his escape. On hearing this a

minions, that if the offender would appear before him he would not only pardon but reward him liberally. The thief trusting to his word, appeared; Rhampsinitus was delighted with the man, and thinking his ingenuity beyond all parallel, gave him his daughter. The king conceived the Egyptians superior in subtlety to all the world, but he thought this man superior even to Egyptians.

CXXII. After this event, they told me that the same king[1] descended alive beneath the earth, to what the Greeks call the infernal regions, where he played at dice with the goddess Ceres, and alternately won and lost. On his return she presented him with a napkin embroidered with gold. This period of his return was observed by the Egyptians as a solemn festival, and has continued to the time of my remembrance: whether the above, or some other incident was the occasion of this feast, I will not take on me to determine. The ministers of this solemnity have a vest woven within the space of the day; this is worn by a priest whose eyes are covered with a bandage. They conduct him to the path which leads to the temple of Ceres, and there leave him. They assert, that two wolves meet the priest thus blinded, and lead

1 The kings of Egypt had many names and titles; these names and titles have been branched out into persons, and inserted in the lists of the real monarchs. I have mentioned of Osiris, that he was exposed in an ark, and for a long time in a state of death: the like is said of Orus, Adonis, Thamuz, and Talus, Tulus, or Thoulos. Lastly, it is said of Rhameses, whom Herodotus calls Rhampsinitus, that he descended to the mansions of death, and after some stay returned to light. I mention these things to show that the whole is one and the same history, and that all these names are titles of the same person. They have however been otherwise esteemed, and we find them accordingly inserted in the list of kings, *by which means* the chronology of Egypt has been *greatly embarrassed.—Bryant.*

him to the temple, though at the distance of twenty stadia from the city, and afterwards conduct him back again to the place where they found him.

CXXIII. Every reader must determine for himself with respect to the credibility of what I have related: for my own part, I heard these things from the Egyptians, and think it necessary to transcribe the result of my inquiries. The Egyptians esteem Ceres and Bacchus as the great deities of the realms below; they are also the first of mankind who have defended the immortality of the soul.[1] They believe that on the dissolution of the body the soul immediately enters some other animal, and that after using as vehicles every species of terrestrial, aquatic, and winged creatures, it finally enters a second time into a human body. They

1 The doctrine of the resurrection was first entertained by the Egyptians; and their mummies were embalmed, their pyramids were constructed to preserve the ancient mansion of the soul during a period of three thousand years. But the attempt is partial and unavailing; and it is with a more philosophic spirit that Mahomet relies on the omnipotence of the Creator, whose word can reanimate the breathless clay, and collect the innumerable atoms that no longer retain their form or substance. The intermediate state of the soul it is hard to decide; and those who most firmly believe her immaterial nature are at a loss to understand how she can think or act without the agency of the organs of sense.—*Gibbon.*

The Platonic doctrine esteemed the body a kind of prison with respect to the soul. Somewhat similar to this was the opinion of the Marcionites, who called the death of the body the resurrection of the soul.—*T.*

To enumerate the various opinions which have prevailed concerning the soul of man, would be an undertaking alike arduous and unprofitable. Some of the ancients considered it as part of the substance of God: the doctrine of the propagation of souls prevailed, according to Bayle, or rather subsisted, to a very late period of the Christian era. Averhoes affirmed its mortality, and most of the pagan philosophers believed it to be material; but the arguments for its immortality which are afforded us in the word of God, at the same time animate our piety, and satisfy our reason.—T.

affirm that it undergoes all these changes in the space of three thousand years. This opinion some amongst the Greeks[1] have at different periods of time adopted as their own; but I shall not, though I am able, specify their names.

CXXIV. I was also informed by the same priests, that till the reign of Rhampsinitus, Egypt was not only remarkable for its abundance, but for its excellent laws. Cheops, who succeeded this prince, degenerated into the extremest profligacy of conduct.[2] He

1 He doubtless means to speak of Pherecydes of Syros, and Pythagoras.—*Larcher*.

Pherecydes was the disciple of Pittacus, and the master of Pythagoras, and also of Thales the Milesian. He lived in the time of Servius Tullus, and, as Cicero tells us, first taught that the souls of men were immortal. His life is given at some length by Diogenes Laertius.—*T.*

2 It is not easy to see what could induce M. de Paw to attempt the vindication of this prince, and to reject as fabulous what Herodotus relates of his despotism, as if this were not the infirmity of these princes, and as if they did not at all endeavor to establish it within their dominions. Egypt enjoyed good laws at the first; they were observed during some ages, and the people were consequently happy; but their princes endeavored to free themselves from the restraints imposed on them, and by degrees they succeeded. M. de Voltaire was justified in considering the construction of the pyramids as a proof of the slavery of the Egyptians; and it is with much justice he remarks, that it would not be possible to compel the English to erect similar masses, who are far more powerful than the Egyptians at that time were. This is perfectly true, and M. de Paw, in attacking Voltaire, has wandered from the question. He ought to have proved that the kings of England were really able to compel their subjects to raise similar monuments, as Herodotus positively asserts of the princes of Egypt. He ought, I say, to have proved this, and not to have advanced that the cultivation of their lands cost the English nine times more labor than it does in Egypt; and that their marine in one year occasions the destruction of more people *than the construction of all the pyramids would have done in a long series of ages. M. de Paw would not see that* a spirit of ambition, a desire of wealth, &c. *induce the English* eagerly to undertake the most laborious

barred the avenues to every temple, and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifices; he proceeded next to make them labor servilely for himself. Some he compelled to hew stones in the quarries of the Arabian mountains, and drag them to the banks of the Nile; others were appointed to receive them in vessels, and transport them to a mountain of Libya. For this service a hundred thousand men were employed, who were relieved every three months. Ten years were consumed in the hard labor of forming the road through which these stones were to be drawn; a work, in my estimation, of no less fatigue and difficulty than the pyramid itself.[1] This causeway[2] is five stadia in

enterprises; that they are not obliged to do this; and in one word, that it is optional with them: on the contrary, the Egyptians were compelled by their sovereigns to labors the most painful, humiliating, and servile.—*Larcher*.

1 For the satisfaction of the English reader I shall in few words enumerate the different uses for which the learned have supposed the pyramids to have been erected. Some have imagined that by hieroglyphics inscribed on their external surface, the Egyptians wished to convey to the remotest posterity their national history, as well as their improvements in sciences and the arts. This, however ingenious, seems but little probable; for the ingenuity which was equal to contrive, and the industry which persevered to execute structures like the pyramids, could not but foresee, that however the buildings themselves might from their solidity and form defy the effects of time, the outward surface, in such a situation and climate, could not be proportionably permanent: add to this, that the hieroglyphics were a sacred language, and obscure in themselves, and revealed but to a select number, might to posterity afford opportunity of ingenious conjecture, but were a very inadequate vehicle of historical facts.

Others have believed them intended merely as observatories to extend philosophic and astronomical knowlege; but in defence of this opinion little can be said: the adjacent country is a flat and even surface; buildings therefore of such height were both absurd and unnecessary; besides that, for such a purpose, it would have been very preposterous to

length, forty cubits wide, and its extreme height thirty-two cubits: the whole is of polished marble,

have constructed such a number of costly and massy piles, differing so little in altitude.

To this may be added, that it does not appear, from an examination of the pyramids, that access to the summit was ever practicable during their perfect state.

By some they have been considered as repositories for corn, erected by Joseph, and called the granaries of Pharaoh. The argument against this is very convincing, and is afforded us by Pliny. 'In the building the largest of the pyramids three hundred and sixty-six thousand men,' says he, 'were employed twenty years together.' This therefore will be found but ill to correspond with the Scriptural history of Joseph. The years of plenty which he foretold were only seven: which fact is of itself a sufficient answer to the above.

It remains therefore to mention the more popular and the more probable opinion, which is, that they were intended for the sepulchres of the Egyptian monarchs.

> Instead of useful works, like Nature, great,
> Enormous cruel wonders crush'd the land,
> And round a tyrant's tomb, who none deserved,
> For one vile carcass perish'd countless lives.—*Thomson.*

When we consider the religious prejudices of the Egyptians, their opinion concerning the soul, the pride, the despotism, and the magnificence of their ancient princes, together with the modern discoveries with respect to the interior of these enormous piles, there seems to remain but little occasion for argument, or reason for doubt.—*T.*

2 The stones might be conveyed by the canal that runs about two miles north of the pyramids, and from thence part of the way by this extraordinary causeway: for at this time there is a causeway from that part, extending about a thousand yards in length, and twenty feet wide, built of hewn stone. The length of it agreeing so well with the account of Herodotus, is a strong confirmation that this causeway has been kept up ever since, though some of the materials of it may have been changed, all being now built with freestone. It is strengthened on each side with semicircular buttresses, about fourteen feet diameter, and thirty feet apart: there are sixty-one of these buttresses, beginning from the north. Sixty feet farther it turns to the west for a little way; then there is a bridge of about twelve arches, twenty feet wide,

adorned with the figures of animals. Ten years, as I remarked, were exhausted in forming this causeway, not to mention the time employed in the vaults[1] of the hill[2] on which the pyramids are erected. These he intended as a place of burial for himself, and were in an island which he formed by introducing the waters of the Nile. The pyramid itself was a work of twenty years: it is of a square form; every front is eighty plethra[3] long, and as many in height; the stones are

built on piers that are ten feet wide. Above one hundred yards farther there is such another bridge, beyond which the causeway continues about one hundred yards to the south, ending about a mile from the pyramids, where the ground is higher. The country over which the causeway is built, being low, and the water lying on it a great while, seems to be the reason for building this causeway at first, and continuing to keep it in repair.—*Pococke.*

The two bridges described by Pococke are also mentioned particularly by Norden. The two travellers differ essentially in the dimensions which they give of the bridges they severally measured; which induces M. Larcher reasonably to suppose that Pococke described one bridge, and Norden the other.—*T.*

1 The second pyramid has a fosse cut in the rock to the north and west of it, which is about ninety feet wide, and thirty feet deep. There are small apartments cut from it into the rock, &c.

2 The pyramids are not situated in plains, but on the rock that is at the foot of the high mountains which accompany the Nile in its course, and which make the separation betwixt Egypt and Libya. It may have fourscore feet of perpendicular elevation above the horizon of the ground, that is always overflowed by the Nile. It is a Danish league in circumference.—*Norden.*

3 To this day the dimensions of the great pyramid are problematical. Since the time of Herodotus many travellers and men of learning have measured it; and the difference of their calculations, far from removing, have but augmented doubt. I will give you a table of their admeasurements, which at least will serve to prove how difficult it is to come at truth.

very skilfully cemented, and none of them of less dimensions than thirty feet.

CXXV. The ascent of the pyramid was regularly graduated by what some call steps, and others altars. Having finished the first flight, they elevated the stones to the second by the aid of machines[1] constructed of

	Height of the great pyramid.	Width of one side.
Ancients	Feet	Feet
Herodotus	800	800
Strabo	625	600
Diodorus	600 some inches	700
Pliny		708
Moderns		
Le Brun	616	704
Prosp. Alpinus	625	750
Thevenot	520	612
Niebuhr	440	710
Greaves	444	648

Number of the layers or steps.

Greaves	207
Maillet	208
Albert Lewenstein	260
Pococke	212
Belon	250
Thevenot	208

To me it seems evident that Greaves and Niebuhr are prodigiously deceived in the perpendicular height of the great pyramid. All travellers agree it contains at least two hundred and seven layers, which layers are from four to two feet high. The highest are at the base, and they decrease insensibly to the top. I measured several, which were more than three feet high, and I found none that were less than two; therefore the least mean height that can be allowed them is two feet and a half, which, according to the calculation of Greaves himself, who counted two hundred and seven, will give five hundred and seventeen feet six inches in perpendicular height.—*Savary*.

1 Mr. Greaves thinks that this account of Herodotus is full of difficulty. 'How, in erecting and placing so many machines, charged with such massy stones, and those continually passing over the lower degrees, could it be avoided, but that they must either unsettle them, or endanger the breaking of some

short pieces of wood; from the second, by a similar engine, they were raised to the third, and so on to the summit. Thus there were as many machines as there were regular divisions in the ascent of the pyramid, though in fact there might only be one, which being easily manageable, might be removed from one range of the building to another as often as occasion made it necessary: both modes have been told me, and I know not which best deserves credit. The summit of the pyramid was first of all finished;[1] descending thence, they regularly completed the whole. On the outside were inscribed, in Egyptian characters,[2] the

portions of them? Which mutilations would have been like scars in the face of so magnificent a building.'

I own that I am of a different opinion from Mr. Greaves; for such massy stones as Herodotus has described would not be discomposed by an engine resting on them, and which, by the account of Herodotus, I take to be only the pulley. The account that Diodorus gives of raising the stones by imaginary heaps of earth, engines not being then, as he supposes, invented, is too absurd to take notice of. And the description that Herodotus has given, notwithstanding all the objections that have been raised to it, and which have arisen principally from misrepresenting him, appears to me very clear and sensible.—*Dr. Templeman's Notes to Norden.*

1 Great doubts have arisen amongst travellers and the learned whether the pyramid was coated or not. Pliny tells us that at Busiris people lived who had the agility to mount to the top of the pyramid. If it was graduated by steps, little agility would be requisite to do this; if regularly coated, it is hard to conceive how any agility could accomplish it.

Norden says that there is not the least mark to be perceived to prove that the pyramid has been coated with marble.

Savary is of a contrary opinion: 'That it was coated,' says he, 'is an incontestible fact, proved by the remains of mortar, still found in several parts of the steps, mixed with fragments of white marble.' On the whole it seems more reasonable to conclude that it was coated.—T.

2 Probably in common characters, and not in hieroglyphics.—*Larcher.*

various sums of money expended in the progress of the work, for the radishes, onions, and garlic consumed by the artificers. This, as I well remember, my interpreter informed me amounted to no less a sum than one thousand six hundred talents. If this be true, how much more must it have necessarily cost for iron tools, food, and clothes for the workmen, particularly when we consider the length of time they were employed in the building itself, adding what was spent in the hewing and conveyance of the stones, and the construction of the subterraneous apartments?

CXXVI. Cheops, having exhausted his wealth, was so flagitious, that he ordered his daughter to find him money. She complied with her father's injunctions, but I was not told what sum she procured: at the same time she took care to perpetuate the memory of herself; with which view she solicited every one of her lovers to present her with a stone. With these it is reported the middle of the three pyramids, fronting the larger one, was constructed, the elevation of which on each side is one hundred and fifty feet.

CXXVII. According to the Egyptians, this Cheops reigned fifty years. His brother Chephren succeeded to his throne, and adopted a similar conduct. He also built a pyramid; but this was less than his brother's, for I measured them both; it has no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the Nile, which in the other surrounds an island, where the body of Cheops is said to be deposited.[1] Of this

1 The kings designed these pyramids for their sepulchres; yet it happened that their remains were not here deposited. The people were so exasperated against them, by the severe labors they had been compelled to endure, and were so enraged at the oppressive cruelty of their princes, that they *threatened to take their bodies from their tombs, and cast them to the dogs.* Both of them therefore, when dying,

latter pyramid, the first ascent is intirely of Ethiopian marble of divers colors, but it is not so high as the larger pyramid, near which it stands, by forty feet. This Chephren reigned fifty-six years; the pyramid he built stands on the same hill with that erected by his brother; the hill itself is near one hundred feet high.

CXXVIII. Thus for the space of one hundred and six years were the Egyptians exposed to every species of oppression and calamity, not having in all this period permission to worship in their temples. For the memory of these two monarchs they have so extreme an aversion, that they are not very willing to mention their names.[1] They call their pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philitis, who at that time fed his cattle in those places.

CXXIX. Mycerinus, the son of Cheops, succeeded Chephren: as he evidently disapproved of his father's conduct, he commanded the temples to be opened, and the people, who had been reduced to the extremest affliction, were again permitted to offer sacrifice at the shrine of their gods. He excelled all that went before him in his administration of justice. The Egyptians revere his memory beyond that of all his predecessors, not only for the equity of his decisions,[2] but because

ordered their attendants to bury them in some secret place.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

1 Part of the punishment annexed in France to high treason, and other enormous offences, is the irrevocable extinction of the family name of the convicted persons.

This is probably the reason, observes M. Larcher, why historians are so much divided in opinion concerning the names of the princes who erected the pyramids.

2 It appears as well from this paragraph as the remainder of the chapter, that the kings administered justice to their subjects in person. It is not therefore very easy to see what could induce M. Paw to assert that the sovereigns of Egypt had not the power of deciding in any civil cause.—Larcher.

if complaint was ever made of his conduct as a judge, he condescended to remove and redress the injury.[1] Whilst Mycerinus thus distinguished himself by his exemplary conduct to his subjects he lost his daughter and only child, the first misfortune he experienced. Her death excessively afflicted him; and wishing to honor her funeral with more than ordinary splendor, he enclosed her body in a heifer made of wood, and richly ornamented with gold.

CXXX. The heifer was not buried; it remained even to my time in the palace of Sais, placed in a superb hall. Every day costly aromatics were burnt before it; and every night it was splendidly illuminated: in an adjoining apartment are deposited statues of the different concubines of Mycerinus, as the priests of Sais informed me. These are to the number of twenty; they are colossal figures, made of wood, and in a naked state; but what women they are intended to represent I presume not to determine: I merely relate what I was told.

CXXXI. Of this heifer, and these colossal figures, there are some who speak thus: Mycerinus, they say, offered violence to his daughter. She having, in the anguish of her mind, strangled herself, her father buried her in the manner we have described. The mother cut off the hands of those female attendants who assisted the king in his designs on his daughter, and therefore these figures are marked by the same imperfections as distinguished the persons they represent when alive. The whole of this story, and that in particular which relates to the hands of these figures, to me seems very preposterous. I myself saw the

1 Diodorus Siculus relates the same fact; and says that he *expended large sums* of money in making compensation to *such as he thought* injured by judicial decisions.—T.

hands lying on the ground; merely, as I thought, from the effect of time.

CXXXII. The body of this heifer is covered with a purple cloth, whilst the head and neck are very richly gilt: betwixt the horns there is a golden star; it is made to recline on its knees, and is about the size of a large cow. Every year it is brought from its apartment: at the period when the Egyptians flagellate themselves in honor of a certain god, whom it does not become me to name, this heifer is produced to the light: it was the request, they say, of the dying princess to her father that she might once every year behold the sun.

CXXXIII. Mycerinus, after the above, met with a second calamity: an oracle from the city Butos informed him that he should live six years, but die in the seventh: the intelligence astonished him, and he sent a message in return to reproach the goddess with injustice; for that his father and his uncle, who had been injurious to mankind, and impious to the gods, had enjoyed each a length of life of which he was to be deprived, who was distinguished for his piety. The reply of the oracle told him, that his early death was the consequence of the conduct for which he commended himself; he had not fulfilled the purpose of the fates, who had decreed, that for the space of one hundred and fifty years Egypt should be oppressed; of which determination the two preceding monarchs had been aware, but he had not. As soon as Mycerinus knew that his destiny was immutable, he caused an immense number of lamps to be made; by the light of which, when evening approached, he passed his hours in the festivity of the banquet: he frequented by day and by night the groves and streams, and whatever place he thought productive of delight: by

this method of changing night into day, and apparently multiplying his six years into twelve, he thought to convict the oracle of falsehood.

CXXXIV. This prince also built a pyramid,[1] but it was not by twenty feet so high as his father's: it was a regular square on every side, three hundred feet in height, and as far as the middle of Ethiopian stone. Some of the Greeks erroneously believe this to have been erected by Rhodopis[2] the courtesan, but they do not seem to me even to know who this Rhodopis was: if they had, they never could have ascribed to her the building of a pyramid produced at the expense of several thousand talents:[3] besides this, Rho-

1 'If,' says Diodorus Siculus, speaking of this pyramid, 'it is less in size and extent than the others, it is superior to them in the costliness of the materials and excellence of the workmanship.'

2 The following account of this Rhodopis is from Strabo.

It is said that this pyramid was erected by the lovers of Rhodopis, by Sappho called Doricha: she was the mistress of her brother Charaxus, who carried to Naucratis Lesbian wine, in which article he dealt; others call her Rhodope. It is reported of her, that one day when she was in the bath an eagle snatched one of her slippers from an attendant, and carried it to Memphis. The king was then sitting in his tribunal: the eagle, settling above his head, let fall the slipper into his bosom: the prince, astonished at this singular event, and at the smallness of the slipper, ordered a search to be made through the country for the female to whom it belonged. Having found her at Naucratis, she was presented to the king, who made her his wife: when she died she was buried in the manner we have described.

Diodorus Siculus says that this pyramid was believed to have been erected to the memory of Rhodopis, at the expense of some governors who had been her admirers.—*T.*

3 Demetrius Poliorcetes compelled the Athenians to raise him immediately the sum of two hundred and fifty talents, which he sent to his mistress Lamia, saying it was for soap. When I inform the reader that she spent this immense sum in a feast given to her lord, what is here related of Rhodopis may seem less incredible.—*T.*

dopis lived at a different period, in the time, not of Mycerinus, but Amasis, and many years after the monarchs who erected the pyramids. Rhodopis was born in Thrace, the slave of Iadmon, the son of Hephæstopolis the Samian: she was the fellow-servant of Æsop, who wrote fables,[1] and was also the slave of

1 This name is so familiar, that it may at first sight seem superfluous and inconsistent to say any thing on the subject; but possibly every English reader may not know that the fables which go under his name were certainly not of his composition; indeed but little concerning him can be ascertained as fact. Plutarch assures us that Crœsus sent Æsop to the oracle of Delphi; that Æsop and Solon were together at the court of Crœsus; that the inhabitants of Delphi put him to death, and afterwards made atonement to his memory; and finally, Socrates versified his fables. Plato, who would not admit Homer into his Commonwealth, gave Æsop an honorable place in it; at least such is the expression of Fontaine.

It remains to do away one absurd and vulgar prejudice concerning him. Modern painters and artists have thought proper to represent Bacchus as a gross, vulgar, and bloated personage: on the contrary, all the ancient poets and artists represented him as a youth of most exquisite beauty. A similar error has prevailed with respect to Æsop: that it is an error, Bentley's reasoning must be very satisfactory to whoever gives it the attention which it merits. 'In Plato's feast,' says he, 'they are very merry on Socrates' face, which resembled old Silenus. Æsop was one of the guests, but nobody presumes to jest on his ugliness.' Philostratus has given in two books a description of a gallery of pictures; one is Æsop, with a chorus of animals about him; he is painted smiling and looking thoughtfully on the ground; but not a word on his deformity: the Athenians erected a statue in his honor.' If he had been deformed, continues Bentley, a statue had been no more than a monument of his ugliness; it would have been kinder to his memory to have let it alone. But, after all, the strongest argument to prove that he was not of a disagreeable form is, that he must have been sold into Samos by a trader in slaves. It is well known that these people brought up the most handsome youths they could procure. If we may judge of him from his companion and contubernalis, we must believe him a comely person. Rhodopis was the greatest beauty of her age, even to a proverb.

Iadmon; all of which may be thus easily proved: the Delphians, in compliance with the directions of the oracle, had desired publicly to know if any one required atonement to be made for the death of Æsop; but none appeared to do this, except a grandson of Iadmon, bearing the same name.

CXXXV. Rhodopis was first carried to Egypt by Xanthus of Samos, whose view was to make money by her. Her liberty was purchased for an immense sum by Charaxus of Mitylene, son of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poetess: thus becoming free, she afterwards continued in Egypt, where her beauty procured her considerable wealth, though by no means adequate to the construction of such a pyramid: the tenth part of her riches whoever pleases may even now ascertain, and they will not be found so great as has been represented. Wishing to perpetuate her name in Greece, she contrived what had never before been imagined, as an offering for the Delphic temple: she ordered a tenth part of her property to be expended in making a number of iron spits, each large enough to roast an ox: they were sent to Delphi, where they are now to be seen behind the altar presented by the Chians. The women of Naucratis are generally beautiful; she of whom we speak was so universally celebrated, that her name is familiar to every Greek. There was also another, named Archidice, well known in Greece, though of less repute than Rhodopis. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her liberty, returned to Mitylene, and was severely handled by Sappho in some satirical verses:—but enough has been said on this subject.

The compilers of the Encyclopædia Britannica have given *into the vulgar error,* and scruple not to pronounce Æsop a *person of striking* deformity.—*T.*

CXXXVI. After Mycerinus, as the priests informed me, Asychis reigned in Egypt: he erected the east entrance to the temple of Vulcan, which is far the greatest and most magnificent. Each of the above-mentioned vestibules is elegantly adorned with sculpture, and with paintings, but this is superior to them all. In this reign, when commerce was checked and injured from the extreme want of money, an ordinance passed, that any one might borrow money, giving the body of his father as a pledge: by this law the sepulchre of the debtor became in the power of the creditor; for if the debt was not discharged he could neither be buried with his family nor in any other vault, nor was he suffered to inter one of his descendants. This prince, desirous of surpassing all his predecessors, left as a monument of his fame a pyramid of brick, with this inscription on a piece of marble:—'Do not disparage my worth by comparing me to those pyramids composed of stone; I am as much superior to them as Jove is to the rest of the deities: I am formed of bricks[1] which were made of mud adhering to poles drawn from the bottom of the lake.'

1 Mr. Greaves asserts that all the pyramids were made of stone: of course he did not penetrate far enough into Egypt to see the one here mentioned; it is situated about four leagues from Cairo, and is noticed both by Norden and Pococke.—*T.*

As to what concerns the works on which the Israelites were employed in Egypt, I admit that I have not been able to find any ruins of bricks burnt in the fire. There is indeed a wall of that kind which is sunk very deep in the ground, and is very long, near to the pyramids, and adjoining to the bridges of the Saracens, that are situated in the plain; but it appears too modern to think that the bricks of which it is formed were made by the Israelites. All that I have seen elsewhere of brick building is composed of the large kind of bricks hardened in the sun, such as those of the brick pyramid.—*Norden.*

This was the most memorable of this king's actions.

CXXXVII. He was succeeded by an inhabitant of Anysis, whose name was Anysis, and who was blind. In his reign Sabacus king of Ethiopia overran Egypt with a numerous army. Anysis fled to the morasses, and saved his life; but Sabacus continued master of Egypt for the space of fifty years. Whilst he retained his authority, he made it a rule not to punish any crime with death, but according to the magnitude of the offence he condemned the criminal to raise the ground near the place to which he belonged; by which means the situation of the different cities became more and more elevated; they were somewhat raised under the reign of Sesostris by the digging of the canals, but they became still more so under the reign of the Ethiopian. This was the case with all the cities of Egypt, but more particularly with the city of Bubastis. There is in this city a temple which well deserves our attention: there may be others larger as well as more splendid, but none which have a more delightful situation. Bubastis, in Greek, is synonymous with Artemis or Diana.[1]

CXXXVIII. This temple, taking away the entrance, forms an island; two branches of the Nile meet at the entrance of the temple, and then separating, flow on each side intirely round it: each of these branches is one hundred feet wide, and regularly shaded with

1 Bubastis was a virgin, presided at childbirths, and was the symbol of the moon. This resemblance with their Diana caused the Greeks to name her the Diana of the Egyptians: yet the similitude was far from perfect; for with the latter she was not the goddess of the mountains, the woods, and the chace. This difference probably caused Juvenal to say:

Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.—Larcher.

trees; the vestibule is forty cubits high, and ornamented with various figures, none of which are less than six cubits. The temple is in the centre of the town, and in every part a conspicuous object; its situation has never been altered, though every other part of the city has been elevated: a wall ornamented with sculpture surrounds the building: in the interior part a grove of lofty trees shades the temple, in the centre of which is the statue of the goddess: the length and breadth of the temple each way is one stadium. There is a paved way which leads through the public square of the city, from the entrance of this temple to that of Mercury,[1] which is about thirty stadia in length.

CXXXIX. The deliverance of Egypt from the Ethiopian was, as they told me, effected by a vision, which induced him to leave the country: a person appeared to him in a dream, advising him to assemble all the priests of Egypt, and afterwards cut them in pieces. This vision to him seemed to demonstrate, that in consequence of some act of impiety which he was thus tempted to perpetrate, his ruin was at hand, from heaven or from man. Determined not to do this deed, he conceived it more prudent to withdraw himself;

1 The Egyptian Mercury was named Thoth or Theuth. Thoth with the Egyptians was the inventor of the sciences; and as Mercury with the Greeks presided over the sciences, this last people called Thoth in their tongue by the name of Hermes or Mercury: they had also given the name of Mercury to Anubis, on account of some fancied similitude betwixt those deities. 'It is not,' says Plutarch, 'a dog properly so called, which they revere under the name of Mercury, it is his vigilance and fidelity, the instinct which teaches him to distinguish a friend from an enemy, that which (to use the expression of Plato) makes this animal a suitable emblem to the god the immediate patron of reason. Servius on Virgil has a remark to the same effect.—Larcher.

particularly as the time of his reigning over Egypt was, according to the declaration of the oracles, now to terminate. During his former residence in Ethiopia, the oracles of his country[1] had told him that he should reign fifty years over Egypt: this period being accomplished, he was so terrified by the vision that he voluntarily withdrew himself.

CXL. Immediately on his departure from Egypt the blind prince quitted his place of refuge, and resumed the government: he had resided for the period of fifty years in a solitary island, which he himself had formed of ashes and of earth. He directed those Egyptians, who frequented his neighborhood for the purpose of disposing of their corn, to bring with them, unknown to their Ethiopian master, ashes for his use. Amyrtæus was the first person who discovered this island, which all the princes who reigned during the space of seven hundred years[2] before Amyrtæus were unable to do: it is called Elbo, and is on each side ten stadia in length.

CXLI. The successor of this prince was Sethos, a priest of Vulcan:[3] he treated the military of Egypt

1 The oracles in Ethiopia were the oracles of Jupiter.—*T.*

2 M. Larcher is of opinion that this is a mistake, crept into the manuscript of Herodotus from a confusion of the numeral letters by copyists.—*T.*

3 The following account is given by M. Larcher, from Plato, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus.

A prince cannot reign in Egypt if he be ignorant of sacred affairs. If an individual of any other class comes accidentally to the crown, he must be immediately admitted of the sacerdotal order. 'The kings,' says Plutarch, 'must be either of the order of priests or soldiers, these two classes being distinguished, the one by their wisdom, the other by their valor. When they have chosen a warrior for king, he is instantly *admitted into the* order of priests, who instruct him in their *mysterious philosophy*. The priests may censure the prince,

with extreme contempt, and as if he had no occasion for their services. Among other indignities, he deprived them of their aruræ, or fields of fifty feet square; which, by way of reward, his predecessors had given each soldier: the result was, that when Sennacherib, king of Arabia and Assyria, attacked Egypt with a mighty army, the warriors whom he had thus treated refused to assist him. In this perplexity the priest retired to the shrine of his god, before which he lamented his danger and misfortunes: here he sunk into a profound sleep, and his deity promised him in a dream, that if he marched to meet the Assyrians he should experience no injury; for that he would furnish him with assistance: the vision inspired him with confidence: he put himself at the head of his adherents, and marched to Pelusium, the entrance of Egypt: not a soldier accompanied the party, which was intirely composed of tradesmen[1] and artisans. On their arrival at Pelusium, so immense a number of mice infested by night the enemy's camp, that their quivers and bows, together with what secured their shields to their arms, were gnawed in pieces. In the morning the Arabians, finding themselves without

give him advice, and regulate his actions. By them is fixed the time when he may walk, bathe, or visit his wife.

'Such privileges as the above,' says M. Larcher, 'must necessarily inspire them with contempt for the rest of the nation, and must have excited a spirit of disgust in a people not blinded by superstition.' Sethos however experienced how dangerous it was to follow the maxims of the priesthood only.

1 The Egyptians were divided into three classes; those of rank, who with the priests occupied the most distinguished honors of the state; the military, who were also husbandmen; and artisans, who exercised the meaner employments. The above is from Diodorus Siculus, who speaks probably of the three principal divisions. Herodotus mentions seven classes.—*Larcher*.

arms, fled in confusion, and lost great numbers of their men. There is now to be seen in the temple of Vulcan a marble statue of this king, having a mouse in his hand, and with this inscription: 'Whoever thou art, learn from my fortune to reverence the gods.'

CXLII. Thus, according to the information of the Egyptians and their priests, from the first king to this last, who was priest of Vulcan, a period of three hundred and forty-one generations had passed, in which there had been as many high-priests, and the same number of kings. Three generations are equal to one hundred years, and therefore three hundred generations are the same as ten thousand years; the forty-one generations that remain make one thousand three hundred and forty years. During the above space of eleven thousand three hundred and forty years they assert that no divinity appeared in a human form; but they do not say the same of the time anterior to this account, or of that of the kings who reigned afterwards. During the above period of time the sun, they told me, had four times deviated from his ordinary course, having twice risen where he uniformly goes down, and twice gone down where he uniformly rises. This, however, had produced no alteration in the climate of Egypt; the fruits of the earth, and the phenomena of the Nile, had always been the same, nor had any extraordinary or fatal diseases occurred.

CXLIII. When the historian Hecatæus[1] was at

1 Athenæus relates the same circumstance as from Hecatæus, which may serve to confirm the assertion of Porphyry, that Herodotus took great part of his second book, with very slight alteration, from Hecatæus. If this fact be once allowed, Herodotus will lose the character that he has long supported, of an honest man, and a faithful historian. But it *appears from Athenæus* himself, that the work which in later *ages passed* under the name of Hecatæus the Milesian, was

Thebes he recited to the priests of Jupiter the particulars of his descent, and endeavored to prove that he was the sixteenth in a right line from some god. They addressed him in reply, as they afterwards did myself, who had said nothing on the subject of my family. They introduced me into a spacious temple, and displayed to me a number of figures in wood; this number I have before specified, for every high-priest places here during his life a wooden figure of himself. The priests enumerated them before me; and proved, as they ascended from the last to the first, that the son followed the father in regular succession. When Hecatæus, in the explanation of his genealogy, ascended

not universally acknowleged for genuine; and Callimachus, who employed much of his time and pains in distinguishing genuine from spurious authors, attributes the supposed work of Hecatæus to another and a later writer. But what is perhaps even a stronger proof in our author's favor is, that he is never charged with the crime of theft by Plutarch, whose knowlege of this plagiarism, if it had ever existed, cannot be questioned, when we consider his extensive and accurate learning; and whose zeal to discover it cannot be doubted, when we reflect that he has written a treatise expressly to prove the malignity of Herodotus, though in fact it only proves his own. Could Plutarch miss such an opportunity of taxing Herodotus? Could he have failed of saying, that this historian was at once so malicious and so ungrateful as to speak with disrespect and contempt of the author to whom he was obliged for a considerable portion of his own history? Our materials for an account of Hecatæus are at best but scanty. He was a native of Miletus, and son of one Ægisander: he was one of the very first writers of prose, with Cadmus and Pherecydes of Scyros. Salmasius contends that he was older than Pherecydes but younger than Eumelus. The most ample account of him is found in Vossius. He certainly wrote a book of genealogies; and the sentence with which he commences his history is preserved in Demetrius Phalereus. it is to this effect: 'What follows is the recital of Hecatæus of Miletus; I write what seems to me to be true. The Greeks in my opinion have related many things contradictory and ridiculous.'

regularly, and traced his descent in the sixteenth line from a god, they opposed a similar mode of reasoning to his, and absolutely denied the possibility of a human being's descent from a god. They informed him that each of these colossal figures was a Piromis, descended from a Piromis; and they farther proved, that without any variation this had uniformly occurred to the number of three hundred and forty-one; but in this whole series there was no reference either to a god or a hero. Piromis in the Egyptian language means one 'beautiful and good.'

CXLIV. From these priests I learned that the individuals whom these figures represented, so far from possessing any divine attributes, had all been what we have described: but in the times which preceded, immortal beings[1] had reigned in Egypt; that they had communication with men, and had uniformly one superior; that Orus,[2] whom the Greeks call Apollo, was

1 M. Larcher says that all governments were at first theocratic, and afterwards became monarchic and democratic. In the theocratic form the priests governed alone, who also preserved a considerable influence in monarchies and republics. What prevents our supposing that Egypt was governed many thousand years by priests; and that this government, in reality theocratic, was named from that deity to whom the high-priest who enjoyed the sovereign authority attached himself?

2 According to Plutarch, the Egyptians held two principles, one good, the other evil. The good principle consisted of three persons, father, mother and son: Osiris was the father, Isis the mother, and Orus the son. The bad principle was Typhon: Osiris, strictly speaking, was synonymous with reason; Typhon the passions, without reason.—*T.*

The notion of a Trinity, more or less removed from the purity of the Christian faith, is found to have been a leading principle in all the ancient schools of philosophy, and in the religions of almost all nations; and traces of an early popular *belief of it appear* even in the abominable rites of idolatrous *worship. The* worship of a Trinity is traced to an earlier age

the last of these; he was the son of Osiris, and, after he had expelled Typhon,[1] himself succeeded to the throne: it is also to be observed, that in the Greek tongue Osiris is synonymous with Bacchus.

CXLV. The Greeks consider Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan, as the youngest of their deities: but Egypt esteems Pan as the most ancient of the gods, and even of those eight who are accounted the first. Hercules was among those of the second rank in point of antiquity, and one of those called the twelve gods. Bacchus was of the third rank, and among those whom the twelve produced. I have before specified the number of years which the Egyptians reckon from the time of Hercules to the reign of Amasis: from the time of Pan a still more distant period is reckoned; from Bacchus, the youngest of all, to the time of Amasis, is a period, they say, of fifteen thousand years. On this subject the Egyptians have no doubts, for they profess to have always computed the years, and kept written accounts of them with the minutest

than that of Plato or Pythagoras, or even of Moses.—*Bishop Horsley*.

1 Typhon, as the principle of evil, was always inclined to it; all bad passions, diseases, tempests, and earthquakes, were imputed to him. Like the untutored Indians and savages, the Egyptians paid adoration to Typhon from fear; they consecrated to him the hippopotamus, the crocodile, and the ass. According to Jablonski, the word Typhon is derived from *Theu* a wind, and *phou* pernicious.

To Osiris is ascribed the introduction of the vine; 'and where,' says Mr. Bryant, 'that was not adapted to the soil, he showed the people the way to make wine of barley.'—*T*.

The Greeks considered Osiris the same person as Bacchus, because they discovered a great resemblance between the fables related of Bacchus and the traditions of the Egyptians concerning Osiris. Learned men of modern times have believed that Isuren, one of the three divinities to whom the Indians now pay adoration, is the ancient Osiris; but this remains to be proved.—Larcher.

accuracy. From Bacchus, who is said to be the son of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, to the present time is one thousand six hundred years; from Hercules, the reputed son of Alcmena, is nine hundred years; and from Pan, whom the Greeks call the son of Penelope and Mercury, is eight hundred years, before which time was the Trojan war.

CXLVI. On this subject I have given my own opinion, leaving it to my readers to determine for themselves. If these deities had been known in Greece, and then grown old, like Hercules the son of Amphitryon, Bacchus the son of Semele, and Pan the son of Penelope, it might have been asserted of them, that although mortals, they possessed the names of those deities known in Greece in the times which preceded. Of Bacchus the Greeks affirm, that as soon as he was born Jove inclosed him in his thigh, and carried him to Nysa, a town of Ethiopia beyond Egypt: with regard to the nativity of Pan they have no tradition among them; from all which I am convinced that these deities were the last known among the Greeks, and that they date the period of their nativity from the precise time that their names came amongst them:—the Egyptians are of the same opinion.

CXLVII. I shall now give some account of the internal history of Egypt; to what I learned from the natives themselves, and the information of strangers, I shall add what I myself beheld. At the death of their sovereign, the priest of Vulcan, the Egyptians recovered their freedom; but as they could not live without kings, they chose twelve, among whom they divided the different districts of Egypt. These princes connected themselves with each other by intermarriages, engaging solemnly to promote their common interest, and never to engage in any acts of separate

policy. The principal motive of their union was to guard against the declaration of an oracle, which had said, that whoever among them should offer in the temple of Vulcan a libation from a brazen vessel, should be sole sovereign of Egypt; and it is to be remembered that they assembled indifferently in every temple.

CXLVIII. It was the resolution of them all to leave behind them a common monument of their fame:—with this view, beyond the lake Mœris, near the city of crocodiles,[1] they constructed a labyrinth,[2]

1 We are ignorant of the real name of this city; it is very probable that it was called from the word Champsis, which according to our author was the Egyptian term for crocodile. —*Larcher*.

2 Diodorus says this was built as a sepulchre for Mendes; Strabo, that it was near the sepulchre of the king that built it, which was probably Imandes. Pomponius Mela speaks of it as built by Psammitichus; but as Menes or Imandes is mentioned by several, possibly he might be one of the twelve kings of greatest influence and authority, who might have the chief ordering and direction of this great building, and as a peculiar honor might have his sepulchre apart from the others.

It was such an extraordinary building, that it is said Dædalus came to Egypt on purpose to see it, and built the labyrinth in Crete for King Minos on the model of this. See a minute description of the labyrinth and temple of the labyrinth by Pococke.

Amidst the ruins of the town of Caroun, the attention is particularly fixed by several narrow, low, and very long cells, which seem to have had no other use than of containing the bodies of the sacred crocodiles: these remains can only correspond with the labyrinth. Strabo, Herodotus, Ptolemy, all agree in placing the labyrinth beyond the city Arsinoe towards Libya, and on the bank of the Lake Mœris, which is the precise situation of these ruins.

Strabo's account of this place does not exactly accord with that of Herodotus, but it confirms it in general. Strabo describes winding and various passages so artfully contrived, that it was impossible to enter any one of the palaces, or to leave it when entered, without a guide.—*Savary*.

which exceeds, I can truly say, all that has been said of it: whoever will take the trouble to comparé them, will find all the works of Greece much inferior to this, both in regard to the workmanship and expense. The temples of Ephesus and Samos may justly claim admiration, and the pyramids may individually be compared to many of the magnificent structures of Greece; but even these are inferior to the labyrinth. It is composed of twelve courts, all of which are covered; their entrances are opposite to each other, six to the north and six to the south; one wall incloses the whole; the apartments are of two kinds; there are fifteen hundred above the surface of the ground, and as many beneath; in all three thousand. Of the former I speak from my own knowlege and observation; of the latter from the information I received. The Egyptians who had the care of the subterraneous apartments would not suffer me to see them, and the

The architect who should be employed to make a plan of the labyrinth, from the description of Herodotus, would find himself greatly embarrassed. We cannot form an idea of the parts which composed it; and as the apartments were then so differently formed from ours, what was not obscure in the time of our author, is too much so for us at present. M. Larcher proceeds in an attempt to describe its architecture; and informs the reader that he conceives the courts must have been in the style of the hotel de Soubise.

There were anciently four celebrated labyrinths; one in Egypt, a second in Crete, a third at Lemnos, and a fourth erected by Porsenna in Tuscany. That at Lemnos is described in very high terms by Pliny.

Labyrinth, in its original sense, means any perplexed and twisted place. In its figurative sense it is applied to any obscure or complicated question, or to any argument which leaves us where we first set out.

The construction of the labyrinth has been imputed to many different persons, on which account the learned have supposed that there were more labyrinths than one. That *this was not the case* is satisfactorily proved by Larcher in a *very elaborate note.—T.*

reason they alleged was, that in these were preserved the sacred crocodiles, and the bodies of the kings who constructed the labyrinth: of these therefore I presume not to speak; but the upper apartments I myself examined, and I pronounce them among the greatest efforts of human industry and art. The almost infinite number of winding passages through the different courts excited my warmest admiration: from spacious halls I passed through smaller apartments, and from them again to large and magnificent courts, almost without end. The ceilings and walls are all of marble, the latter richly adorned with the finest sculpture; around each court are pillars of the whitest and most polished marble: at the point where the labyrinth terminates stands a pyramid one hundred and sixty cubits high, having large figures of animals engraved on its outside, and the entrance to it is by a subterraneous path.

CXLIX. Wonderful as this labyrinth is, the lake Mœris,[1] near which it stands, is still more extraordinary; the circumference of this is three thousand

1 That the reader may compare what modern writers and travellers have said on this subject, I shall place before him, from Larcher, Pococke, Norden, Savary, &c. what to me seems most worthy of attention.

I shall first remark, that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Pomponius Mela, differ but little in opinion concerning its extent: according to the former it was four hundred and fifty miles in circumference, the latter says it was five hundred: the former assert also that in some places it was three hundred feet deep. The design of it was probably to hinder the Nile from overflowing the country too much, which was effected by drawing off such a quantity of water, when it was apprehended that there might be an inundation sufficient to hurt the land. The water, Pococke observes, is of a disagreeable muddy taste, and almost as salt as the sea, which quality it *probably* contracts from the nitre that is in the earth, and the *salt which* is every year left in the mud.

The circumference of the lake at present is no more than *fifty leagues.* Larcher says we must distinguish betwixt the

six hundred stadia, or sixty schœni, which is the length of Egypt about the coast. This lake stretches itself from north to south, and in its deepest parts is two hundred cubits; it is intirely the produce of human industry, which indeed the work itself testifies, for in its centre may be seen two pyramids, each of which is two hundred cubits above and as many beneath the water; on the summit of each is a colossal statue of marble in a sitting attitude. The precise altitude of these pyramids is consequently four hundred cubits: these four hundred cubits, or one hundred orgyiæ, are adapted to a stadium of six hundred feet; an orgyia is six feet, or four cubits, for a foot is four palms, and a cubit six.

The waters of the lake are not supplied by springs: the ground which it occupies is of itself remarkably dry, but it communicates by a secret channel with the Nile: for six months the lake empties itself into the

lake itself and the canal of communication from the Nile; that the former was the work of nature, the latter of art. This canal, a most stupendous effort of art, is still intire; it is called Bahr Yousoph, the river of Joseph, according to Savary forty leagues in length. There were two other canals with sluices at their mouths, from the lake to the river, which were alternately shut and opened when the Nile increased or decreased. This work united every advantage, and supplied the deficiencies of a low inundation, by retaining water which would uselessly have been expended in the sea. It was still more beneficial when the increase of the Nile was too great, by receiving that superfluity which would have prevented seed-time.

Were the canal of Joseph cleansed, the ancient mounds repaired, and the sluices restored, this lake might again serve the same purposes.—The pyramids described by Herodotus no longer subsist, neither are they mentioned by Strabo.

When it is considered that this was the work of an individual, and that its object was the advantage and comfort of a numerous *people, it* must be agreed, with M. Savary, that *Mœris, who constructed* it, performed a far more glorious *work than either* the pyramids or the labyrinth.—T.

Nile, and the remaining six the Nile supplies the lake. During the six months in which the waters of the lake ebb, the fishery[1] which is here carried on furnishes the royal treasury with a talent of silver[2] every day; but as soon as the Nile begins to pour its waters into the lake, it produces no more than twenty minæ.

CL. Of this lake the inhabitants affirm, that it has a subterraneous passage inclining inland towards the west to the mountains above Memphis, where it discharges itself into the Libyan sands. I was anxious to know what became of the earth,[3] which must somewhere have necessarily been heaped up in the digging this lake: as my search after it was fruitless, I made inquiries concerning it of those who lived nearer the lake. I was the more willing to believe, when they told me where it was carried, as I had before heard of a similar expedient used at Nineveh, an Assyrian city. Some robbers, who were solicitous to get possession of the immense treasures of Sardanapalus king of Ni-

1 Diodorus Siculus informs us, that in this lake were found twenty-two different sorts of fish, and that so great a quantity were caught, that the immense number of hands perpetually employed in salting them were hardly equal to the work.—*T.*

2 The silver which the fishery of this lake produced was appropriated to find the queen with clothes and perfumes.—*Larcher.*

3 Herodotus, when he viewed this lake, might well be surprised at the account they gave him, that it was made by art; and had reason to ask them what they did with the earth they dug out. But he seems to have too much credulity, in being satisfied when they told him that they carried the earth to the Nile, and so it was washed away by the river; for it was very extraordinary to carry such a vast quantity of earth above ten miles from the nearest part of the lake, and fifty or sixty from the farther parts, even though they might contrive water carriage for a great part of the way. This I should imagine a thing beyond belief, even if the lake were no larger than it is at present; that is, it may be fifty miles long and ten broad.—Pococke.

neveh, which were deposited in subterraneous apartments, began from the place where they lived to dig under ground, in a direction towards them. Having taken the most accurate measurement, they continued their mine to the palace of the king: as night approached they regularly emptied the earth into the Tigris, which flows near Nineveh, and at length accomplished their purpose. A plan intirely similar was executed in Egypt, except that the work was here carried on not by night but by day; the Egyptians threw the earth into the Nile, as they dug it from the trench; thus it was regularly dispersed, and this, as they told me, was the process of the lake's formation.

CLI. These twelve kings were eminent for the justice of their administration. On a certain occasion they were offering sacrifice in the temple of Vulcan, and on the last day of the festival were about to make the accustomed libation; for this purpose the chief priest handed to them the golden cups used on these solemnities; but he mistook the number, and instead of twelve gave only eleven. Psammitichus, who was the last of them, not having a cup, took off his helmet,[1] which happened to be of brass, and from this poured his libation. The other princes wore helmets in common, and had them on the present occasion, so that the circumstance of this one king having and using his was accidental and innocent. Observing, however, this action of Psammitichus, they remembered the prediction of the oracle, 'that he among them who

1 It is certain that the ancients made use of their helmets on various occasions; whenever any thing was to be decided by lots, the lots were cast into a helmet; and as they appear very obvious for such a purpose, so many instances in ancient writers *occur of soldiers* drinking out of them.

should pour a libation from a brazen vessel should be sole monarch of Egypt.' They minutely investigated the matter, and being satisfied that this action of Psammitichus was intirely the effect of accident, they could not think him worthy of death; they nevertheless deprived him of a considerable part of his power, and confined him to the marshy parts of the country, forbidding him to leave this situation, or to communicate with the rest of Egypt.

CLII. This Psammitichus had formerly fled to Syria, from Sabacus the Ethiopian, who had killed his father Necos: when the Ethiopian, terrified by the vision, had abandoned his dominions, those Egyptians who lived near Sais had solicited Psammitichus to return. He was now a second time driven into exile amongst the fens, by the eleven kings, from this circumstance of the brazen helmet. He felt the strongest resentment for the injury, and determined to avenge himself on his persecutors; he sent therefore to the oracle of Latona, at Butos, which has among the Egyptians the highest character for veracity. He was informed that the sea should avenge his cause by producing brazen figures of men. He was little inclined to believe that such a circumstance could ever occur; but some time afterwards, a body of Ionians and Carians, who had been engaged in a voyage of plunder, were compelled by distress to touch at Egypt: they landed in brazen armor. Some Egyptians hastened to inform Psammitichus in his marshes of this incident; and as the messenger had never before seen persons so armed, he said, that some brazen men had arisen from the sea, and were plundering the country. He instantly conceived this to be the accomplishment of the oracle's prediction, and entered into alliance

with the strangers, engaging them by splendid promises to assist him: with them and his Egyptian adherents he vanquished the eleven kings.

CLIII. After he thus became sole sovereign of Egypt, he built at Memphis the vestibule of the temple of Vulcan, which is towards the south; opposite to this he erected an edifice for Apis, in which he is kept when publicly exhibited: it is supported by colossal figures twelve cubits high, which serve as columns; the whole of the building is richly decorated with sculpture. Apis in the language of Greece is Epaphus.

CLIV. In acknowlegement of the assistance he had received, Psammitichus conferred on the Ionians and Carians certain lands, which were termed the Camp, immediately opposite to each other, and separated by the Nile: he fulfilled also his other engagements with them, and intrusted to their care some Egyptian children, to be instructed in the Greek language, from whom come those who in Egypt act as interpreters. This district, which is near the sea, somewhat below Bubastis, at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, was inhabited by the Ionians and Carians for a considerable time. At a succeeding period Amasis, to avail himself of their assistance against the Egyptians, removed them to Memphis. Since the time of their first settlement in Egypt they have preserved a constant communication with Greece, so that we have a perfect knowlege of Egyptian affairs from the reign of Psammitichus. They were the first foreigners whom the Egyptians received among them: within my remembrance, in the places which they formerly occupied, the docks for their ships, and vestiges of their buildings might be seen.

CLV. Of the Egyptian oracle I have spoken al-

ready, but it so well deserves attention, that I shall expatiate still farther on the subject. It is sacred to Latona, and, as I have before said, in a large city called Butos, at the Sebennitic mouth of the Nile, as approached from the sea. In this city stands a temple of Apollo and Diana; that of Latona, whence the oracular communications are made, is very magnificent, having porticos forty cubits high. What most excited my admiration was the shrine of the goddess;[1] it was of one solid stone, having equal sides; the length of each was forty cubits; the roof is of another solid stone, no less than four cubits in substance.

CLVI. Of all the things which here excite attention, this shrine is, in my opinion, the most to be admired. Next to this is the island of Chemmis, which is near the temple of Latona, and stands in a deep and spacious lake; the Egyptians affirm it to be a floating island:[2] I did not witness the fact, and was

1 This enormous rock, two hundred and forty feet in circumference, was brought from a quarry in the isle of Philæ, near the cataracts, on rafts, for the space of two hundred leagues, to its destined place, and without contradiction was the heaviest weight ever moved by human power. Many thousand workmen, according to history, were three years employed in taking it to its place of destination.—*Savary*.

The grand and sublime ideas which the ancients entertained on subjects of architecture, and other monuments of art, almost exceed our powers of description. This before us is a most extraordinary effort of human industry and power; but it appears minute and trifling, compared with an undertaking of a man named Stesicrates, proposed to Alexander, and recorded by Plutarch. He offered to convert Mount Athos into a statue of that prince. This would have been in circumference no less than one hundred and twenty miles, in height ten. The left arm of Alexander was to be the base of a city, capable of containing ten thousand inhabitants. The right hand was to hold an urn, from which a river was to empty itself into the sea.—T.

2 *I am ignorant whether Chemmis has ever been a floating island.* The Greeks pretend that Delos floated. I am per-

astonished to hear that such a thing existed. In this island is a large edifice sacred to Apollo, having three altars, and surrounded by palms, the natural produce of the soil. There are also great varieties of other plants, some of which produce fruit, others are barren. The circumstance of this island's floating the Egyptians thus explain: it was once fixed and immovable, when Latona, who has ever been esteemed one of the eight primary divinities, dwelt at Butos. Having received Apollo in trust from Isis, she consecrated and preserved him in this island, which, according to their account, now floats. This happened when Typhon, earnestly endeavoring to discover the son of Osiris, came here. Their tradition says, that Apollo and Diana were the offspring of Bacchus and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver. Apollo, Ceres, and Diana, the Egyptians respectively call Orus, Isis, and Bubastis. From this alone, Æschylus,[1] son of Euphorion, took his account, the first poet who represented Diana as the daughter of Ceres, and referred to this the circumstance of the island's floating.

CLVII. Psammitichus reigned in Egypt fifty-four

suaded they only invented that fable from the recital of Egyptians settled amongst them; and that they attributed to Delos, the birthplace of Apollo, what the Egyptians related of Chemmis, the place of retreat to their Apollo. A rock two thousand toises long could not float on the waves; but the Greeks, who dearly loved the marvellous, did not examine things so closely.—*Larcher.*

1 This was doubtless in some piece not come down to us. Pausanias says also, that Æschylus, son of Euphorion, was the first who communicated to the Greeks the Egyptian history; that Diana was the daughter of Ceres, and not of Latona.—*Larcher.*

The same remark is made by Valckenaer, in Wesseling's edition of Herodotus. But all are united in the opinion, that *Pausanias made his* remark from this passage of Herodotus. —*T.*

years, twenty-nine of which he consumed in the siege of a great city of Syria, which he afterwards took; the name of this place was Azotus. I know not that any town ever sustained so long and obstinate a siege.

CLVIII. Psammitichus had a son, whose name was Necos, by whom he was succeeded in his authority. This prince first commenced that canal[1] leading to the Red Sea, which Darius, king of Persia, afterwards continued. The length of this canal is equal to a four days' voyage, and it is wide enough to admit two triremes abreast. The water enters it from the Nile, a little above the city Bubastis: it terminated in the Red Sea, not far from Patumos, an Arabian town. They began to sink this canal in that part of Egypt which is nearest Arabia. Contiguous to it is a mountain which stretches towards Memphis, and contains quarries of stone. Commencing at the foot of this, it extends from west to east, through a considerable tract of country, and where a mountain opens to the south is discharged into the Arabian gulf. From the northern

1 The account given by Diodorus Siculus is this:—The canal reaching from the Pelusian mouth of the Nile to the Sinus Arabicus and the Red Sea was made by hands. Necos, the son of Psammitichus, was the first that attempted it, and after him Darius the Persian carried on the work something farther, but left it at length unfinished; for he was informed by some, that in thus digging through the isthmus he would cause Egypt to be deluged, for they showed him that the Red Sea was higher than the land of Egypt. Afterwards Ptolemy the Second finished the canal, and in the most proper place contrived a sluice for confining the water, which was opened when they wanted to sail through, and was immediately closed again, the use of it answering extremely well the design. The river flowing through this canal is called the *Ptolemæan*, from the name of its author. Where it discharges itself into the sea it has a city named Arsinoe. Of this canal *Norden* remarks that he was unable to discover the smallest trace, either in the town of Kieni, or the adjacent parts.

to the southern, or, as it is generally called, the Red Sea, the shortest passage is over Mount Cassius, which divides Egypt from Syria, from whence to the Arabian gulf are a thousand stadia. The way by the canal, on account of the different circumflexions, is considerably longer. In the prosecution of this work, under Necos, no less than one hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished. He at length desisted from his undertaking, being admonished by an oracle that all his labor would turn to the advantage of a barbarian; and it is to be observed that the Egyptians term all barbarians who speak a language different from their own.

CLIX. As soon as Necos discontinued his labors with respect to the canal, he turned all his thoughts to military enterprises. He built vessels of war, both on the Northern Ocean, and in that part of the Arabian gulf which is near the Red Sea. Vestiges of his naval undertakings are still to be seen. His fleets were occasionally employed, but he also by land conquered the Syrians in an engagement near the town of Magdolum, and after his victory obtained possession of Cadytis,[1] a Syrian city. The vest which he wore when he got this victory he consecrated to Apollo, and sent to the Milesian Branchidæ. After a reign of seventeen years, he died, leaving the kingdom to his son Psammis.

1 The city of Cadytis could be no other than Jerusalem. Herodotus afterwards describes this to be a mountainous city in Palestine, of the bigness of Sardis. There could be no other equal to Sardis but Jerusalem. It is certain from Scripture, that after this battle Necos did take Jerusalem, for he was there when he made Jehoiakim king.—See Prideaux, *Connect*. i. 56, 57.

D'Anville also considers Cadytis as Jerusalem, though *some authors dissent.*

CLX. During the reign of this prince some ambassadors arrived in Egypt from the Eleans. This people boasted that the establishment of the Olympic games possessed every excellence, and was not surpassed even by the Egyptians, though the wisest of mankind. On their arrival, they explained the motives of their journey; in consequence of which the prince called a meeting of the wisest of his subjects: at this assembly the Eleans described the particular regulations they had established; and desired to know if the Egyptians could recommend any improvement. After some deliberation, the Egyptians inquired whether their fellow-citizens were permitted to contend at these games. They were informed in reply, that all the Greeks without distinction were suffered to contend. The Egyptians observed, that this must of course lead to injustice, for it was impossible not to favor their fellow-citizens in preference to strangers. If therefore the object of their voyage to Egypt was to render their regulations perfect, they should suffer only strangers to contend in their games, and particularly exclude the Eleans.

CLXI. Psammis reigned but six years; he made an expedition to Ethiopia, and died soon afterwards. He was succeeded by his son Apries, who, next to his grandfather Psammitichus, was fortunate beyond all his predecessors, and reigned five and twenty years. He made war on Sidon, and engaged the king of Tyre in battle by sea. I shall briefly mention in this place the calamities which afterwards befell him; but shall discuss them more fully when I treat of the Libyan affairs. Apries having sent an army against the Cyreneans, received a severe check. This misfortune the Egyptians ascribed to his own want of conduct; and imagining themselves marked out for destruction, re-

volted from his authority. They supposed his views were, by destroying them, to secure his tyranny over the rest of their country. The friends therefore of such as had been slain, with those who returned in safety, openly rebelled.

CLXII. On discovery of this Apries sent Amasis to soothe the malcontents. Whilst this officer was persuading them to desist from their purpose, an Egyptian standing behind him placed a helmet on his head,[1] saying that by this act he had made him king. The sequel proved that Amasis was not averse to the deed; for as soon as the rebels had declared him king, he prepared to march against Apries: on intelligence of this event, the king sent Patarbemis, one of the most faithful of those who yet adhered to him, with directions to bring Amasis alive to his presence. Arriving where he was, he called to Amasis, desiring him to obey the king; this, Amasis replied he had long determined to do, that Apries should have no reason to complain of him, for he would soon be with him, and bring others also. Of the purport of this answer Patarbemis was well aware; taking therefore particular notice of the hostile preparations of the rebels, he returned, intending instantly to inform the king of his danger. Apries, when he saw him, without hearing him speak, as he did not bring Amasis, ordered his nose and ears to be cut off. The Egyptians of his party, incensed at this treatment of a man much and deservedly respected, immediately went over to Amasis.

CLXIII. Apries on this put himself at the head of his Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, who were with him to the amount of thirty thousand men, and marched

1 *The helmet in* Egypt was the distinction of royalty.

against the Egyptians. Departing from Sais, where he had a magnificent palace, he proceeded against his subjects; Amasis also prepared to meet his master and the foreign mercenaries. The two armies met at Momemphis, and made ready for battle.

CLXIV. The Egyptians are divided into seven classes.[1] These are the priests, the military, herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and pilots. They take their names from their professions. Egypt is divided into provinces, and the soldiers, from those which they inhabit, are called Calasiries and Hermotybies.

CLXV. The Hermotybian district contains Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, Papremis, the island of Prosopis, and part of Natho; which places, at the highest calculation, furnish one hundred and sixty thousand Hermotybians. These, avoiding all mercantile employments, follow the profession of arms.[2]

1 The Indians are divided into four principal castes, each of which is again subdivided.—Bramins, the military, laborers and artisans.—*T.*

It is observable of the Iberians, that they were divided into different castes, each of which had its proper function. The rank and office of every tribe were hereditary and unchangeable. This rule of invariable distinction prevailed nowhere else except in India and in Egypt.—*Bryant.*

2 With the following remark of M. Larcher the heart of every Englishman must be in unison. To hear a native of France avow an abhorrence of despotism, and a warm attachment to liberty, has, till within a late period, been a most unusual circumstance. On the subject of standing armies, nothing perhaps has been written with greater energy and effect than by Mr. Moyle.

'Every country,' says M. Larcher, 'which encourages a standing army of foreigners, and where the profession of arms is the road to the highest honors, is either enslaved, or on the point of being so. Foreign soldiers in arms are never so much the defenders of the citizens, as the attendants of the despot. Patriotism, that passion of elevated souls, which prompts us to noble actions, weakens and expires. The interest which

CLXVI. The Calasirians inhabit Thebes, Bubastis, Apthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennis, Athribis, Pharbæthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anysis, and Mycephoris, which is an island opposite to Bubastis. In their most perfect state of population these places furnish two hundred and fifty thousand men. Neither must these follow mechanic employments, but the son regularly succeeds the father[1] in a military life.

forms a union betwixt the prince and his subjects, ceases to be the same, and the real defence of the state can no longer be vigorous. Of this Egypt is a proof: its despots, not satisfied with the national troops, always ready for service, had recourse to foreign mercenaries. They were depressed, and passed with little difficulty under the dominion of the Persians, afterwards under that of Greece and of Rome, of the Mamelukes, and the Turks. The tyrant could not be loved by his slaves, and without the love of his subjects, the prince totters on his throne, and is ready to fall when he thinks his situation the most secure.'

'Amongst men,' says Æschines, 'there are three sorts of governments, monarchic, oligarchic, and republican. Monarchies and oligarchies are governed by the caprice of those who have the management of affairs, republics by established laws. Know then, O Athenians! that a free people preserve their liberty and lives by the laws, monarchies and oligarchies by tyranny and a standing army.'

To the above I cannot resist the inclination I have to add from Mr. Moyle the underwritten:

'The Israelites, Athenians, Corinthians, Achaians, Lacedæmonians, Thebans, Samnites, and Romans, none of them, when they kept their liberty, were ever known to maintain any soldier in constant pay within their cities, or ever suffered any of their subjects to make war their profession, well knowing that the sword and sovereignty always march hand in hand.'—*T.*

1 We know very well that nothing is more injurious to the police or municipal constitution of any city or colony, than the forcing of a particular trade; nothing more dangerous than the overpeopling any manufacture, or multiplying the traders and dealers of whatever vocation, beyond their natural proportion, and the public demand. Now it happened of old in *Egypt, the mother* land of superstition, that the sons of certain *artists were by* law obliged always to follow the same call-

CLXVII. I am not able to decide whether the Greeks borrowed this last-mentioned custom from the Egyptians, for I have also seen it observed in various parts of Thrace, Scythia, Persia, and Lydia. It seems indeed to be an established prejudice, even among nations the least refined, to consider mechanics and their descendants in the lowest rank of citizens, and to esteem those as the most noble who were of no profession; annexing the highest degrees of honor to the exercise of arms. This idea prevails throughout Greece, but more particularly at Lacedæmon; the Corinthians however do not hold mechanics in disesteem.

CLXVIII. The soldiers and the priests are the only ranks in Egypt who are honorably distinguished; these, each of them, receive from the public a portion of ground of twelve acres, free from all taxes. Each acre contains a hundred Egyptian cubits, which are the same as so many cubits of Samos. Besides this, the military enjoy in their turns other advantages: one thousand Calasirians and as many Hermotybians are every year on duty as the king's guards; whilst on this service, in addition to their assignments of land, each man has a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of beef, with four arusteres[1] of wine.

CLXIX. Apries with his auxiliaries, and Amasis at the head of the Egyptians, met and fought at Momem-

ing with their father.—See *Lord Shaftesbury's Miscellaneous Reflections.*

Before the invention of letters, mankind may be said to have been perpetually in their infancy, as the arts of one age or country generally died with their possessors. Whence arose the policy which still continues in Indostan, of obliging *the son* to practise the profession of his father.—See notes to *a poem,* called *The Loves of the Plants,* p. 58.

1 Hesychius makes the measure somewhat less than a pint. —*T.*

phis. The mercenaries displayed great valor; but being much inferior in number, were ultimately defeated. Of the permanence of his authority Apries is said to have entertained so high an opinion, that he conceived it not to be in the power even of a deity to ethrone him. He was however conquered and taken prisoner; after his captivity he was conducted to Sais, to what was formerly his own, but then the palace of Amasis. He was here confined for some time, and treated by Amasis with much kindness and attention. But the Egyptians soon began to reproach him for preserving a person who was their common enemy, and he was induced to deliver up Apries to their power. They strangled[1] and afterwards buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, which stands in the temple of Minerva, on the left side of the vestibule. In this temple the inhabitants of Sais buried all the princes who were of their province, but the tomb of Amasis is more remote from the building than that of Apries and his ancestors.

CLXX. In the area before this temple stands a large marble edifice magnificently adorned with obelisks in the shape of palm trees, with various other

1 It is to this prince, whom, as I before mentioned, the Scriptures denote by the name of Pharaoh Hophra, that the following passages allude.

'The land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste, and they shall know that I am the Lord: because he hath said, The river is mine, and I have made it.

'Behold, therefore, I am against thee, and against thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate.'—Ezekiel, xxix. 9, 10.

'Thus saith the Lord, I will give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life.'—Jeremiah, xliv. 9.

See also *Jeremiah*, xliii, xliv, xlv; Ezekiel, xxix, xxx, *xxxi, xxxii. In the* person of Apries all these prophecies *were accomplished.*—See also *Prideaux* Connect. i. 39.

ornaments; in this are two doors, forming an entrance to the monument. They have also at Sais the tomb of a certain personage whom I do not think myself permitted to specify. It is behind the temple of Minerva, and is continued the whole length of the wall of that building. Around this are many large obelisks, near which is a lake, whose banks are lined with stone; it is of a circular form, and, as I should think, as large as that of Delos, which is called Trochoeides.

CLXXI. On this lake are represented by night the accidents which happened to him whom I dare not name: the Egyptians call them their mysteries. Concerning these, at the same time that I confess myself sufficiently informed, I feel myself compelled to be silent. Of the ceremonies also in honor of Ceres, which the Greeks call Thesmophoria,[1] I may not venture to speak farther than the obligations of religion will allow me. They were brought from Egypt by the daughters of Danaus, and by them revealed to the Pelasgian women: but when the tranquillity of the

1 These mysteries were celebrated at stated seasons of the year, with solemn shows, and a great pomp of machinery, which drew a mighty concourse to them from all countries. L. Crassus, the great orator, happened to come two days after they were over, and would gladly have persuaded the magistrates to renew them; but not being able to prevail, left the city in disgust. This shows how cautious they were of making them too cheap. The shows are supposed to have represented heaven, hell, elysium, purgatory, and all that related to the future state of the dead: being contrived to inculcate more sensibly, and exemplify the doctrines delivered to the initiated. As they were a proper subject for poetry, so they are frequently alluded to by the ancient poets. This confirms also the probability of that ingenious comment which the author of the Divine Legation has given in the *sixth* book of the Æneid, where Virgil, as he observes, in *describing* the descent into hell, is but tracing out in their *genuine* order the several scenes of the Eleusinian shows.—*Middleton's Life of* Cicero.

Peloponnesus was disturbed by the Dorians, and the ancient inhabitants expelled, these rites were insensibly neglected or forgotten. The Arcadians, who retained their original habitations, were the only people who preserved them.

CLXXII. Such being the fate of Apries, Amasis, who was of the city of Siuph, in the district of Sais, succeeded to the throne. At the commencement of his reign the Egyptians, remembering his plebeian origin,[1] held him in contempt; but his mild conduct and political sagacity afterwards conciliated their affections. Among other valuables which he possessed was a gold vessel, in which he and his guests were accustomed to spit, and wash their feet: of the materials of this he made a statue of some god, which he placed in the most conspicuous part of the city. The Egyptians, assembling before it, paid it divine honors; on hearing which the king called them together, and informed them that the image they thus venerated was made of a vessel of gold which he and they had formerly used for the most unseemly purposes. He afterwards explained to them the similar circumstances of his own fortune; who, though formerly a plebeian was now their sovereign, and intitled to their reverence. By such means he secured their attachment, as well as their submissive obedience to his authority.

CLXXIII. The same prince thus regulated his time: from the dawn of the day to such time as the public square of the city was filled with people, he gave audience to whoever required it. The rest of

1 We are told in Athenæus, that the rise of Amasis was owing to his having presented Apries on his birth-day with a beautiful chaplet of flowers. The king was so delighted with this mark of his attention that he invited him to the feast, and received him amongst the number of his friends. —*T.*

the day he spent at the table; where he drank, laughed, and diverted himself with his guests, indulging in every species of licentious conversation. On this conduct some of his friends remonstrated:—'Sir,' they observed, 'do you not dishonor your rank by these excessive and unbecoming levities? From your awful throne you ought to employ yourself in the administration of public affairs, and by such conduct increase the dignity of your name, and the veneration of your subjects. Your present life is most unworthy of a king.'—'They,' replied Amasis, 'who have a bow, bend it only at the time they want it; when not in use, they suffer it to be relaxed; it would otherwise break and not be of service when exigence required. It is precisely the same with a man; if without some intervals of amusement, he applied himself constantly to serious pursuits, he would imperceptibly lose his vigor both of mind and body. It is the conviction of this truth which influences me in the division of my time.'

CLXXIV. Of this Amasis it is asserted, that whilst he was in a private condition he avoided every serious avocation, and gave himself intirely up to drinking and jollity. If at any time he wanted money for his expensive pleasures, he had recourse to robbery. By those who suspected him as the author of their loss, he was frequently, on his protesting himself innocent, carried before the oracle, by which he was frequently condemned, and as often acquitted. As soon as he obtained the supreme authority, such deities as had pronounced him innocent he treated with the greatest contumely, neglecting their temples, and never offering them either presents or sacrifice; this he did by way of testifying his dislike of their false declarations. Such however as decided on his guilt, in testimony of

their truth and justice, he reverenced as true gods, with every mark of honor and esteem.

CLXXV. In honor of Minerva this prince erected at Sais a magnificent portico, exceeding every thing of the kind in size and grandeur. The stones of which it was composed were of a very uncommon size and quality, and decorated with a number of colossal statues and androsphynges [1] of enormous magnitude. To repair this temple he also collected stones of an amazing thickness, part of which he brought from the quarries of Memphis, and part from the city of Elephantine, which is distant from Sais a journey of about twenty days. But what, in my opinion, is most of all to be admired, was an edifice which he brought from Elephantine, constructed of one intire stone. The carriage of it employed two thousand men, all of whom were pilots, an intire period of three years. The length of this structure on the outside is twenty-one cubits; it is fourteen wide, and eight high: in the inside the length of it is twenty-two cubits and twenty digits; twelve cubits wide, and five high. It is placed

1 This was a monstrous figure, with the body of a lion, and face of a man. The artists of Egypt however commonly represented the sphinx with the body of a lion, and the face of a young woman. These were generally placed at the entrance of temples, to serve as a type of the enigmatic nature of the Egyptian theology.—*Larcher*.

Opposite the second pyramid, eastward, is the enormous sphinx, the whole body of which is buried in the sand, the top of the back only to be seen, which is above a hundred feet long, and is of a single stone, making part of the rock on which the pyramids rest. Its head rises about seven-and-twenty feet above the sand. Mahomet has taught the Arab to hold all images of men or animals in detestation, and they have disfigured the face with their arrows and lances.

M. Paw *says, these* sphinxes, the body of which is half a *virgin, half a lion,* are images of the deity, whom they represent *as an* hermaphrodite.—*Savary*.

at the entrance of the temple; the reason it was carried no farther is this: the architect, reflecting on his long and continued fatigue, sighed deeply, which incident Amasis construed as an omen, and obliged him to desist. Some however affirm that one of those employed to move it by levers was crushed by it, for which reason it was advanced no farther.

CLXXVI. To other temples, also, Amasis made many and magnificent presents. At Memphis, before the temple of Vulcan, he placed a colossal recumbent figure, which was seventy-five feet long. On the same pediment are two other colossal figures, formed out of the same stone, and each twenty feet high. Of the same size, and in the same attitude, another colossal statue may be seen at Sais. This prince built also at Memphis the temple of Isis, the grandeur of which excites universal admiration.

CLXXVII. With respect to all those advantages which the river confers on the soil, and the soil on the inhabitants, the reign of Amasis was fortunate for the Egyptians; who, under this prince, could boast of twenty thousand cities[1] well inhabited. Amasis is

1 This country was once the most populous of the known world, and now it does not appear inferior to any. In ancient times it had eighteen thousand as well considerable towns as cities, as may be seen by the sacred registers. In the time of Ptolemy Lagus there were three thousand, which still remain. In a general account once taken of the inhabitants, they amounted to seven millions, and there are no less than three millions at present.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

Ancient Egypt supplied food to eight millions of inhabitants, and to Italy and the neighboring provinces likewise. At present the estimate is not one half. I do not think, with Herodotus and Pliny, that this kingdom contained twenty thousand cities in the time of Amasis: but the astonishing ruins every where to be found, and in uninhabited places, prove they must have been thrice as numerous as they are.—*Savary.*

It is impracticable to form a just estimate of the popula-

farther remarkable for having instituted that law which obliges every Egyptian once in the year to explain to the chief magistrate of his district the means by which he obtains his subsistence. The refusal to comply with this ordinance, or the not being able to prove that a livelihood was procured by honest means, was a capital offence. This law Solon[1] borrowed from Egypt, and established at Athens, where it still remains in force, experience having proved its wisdom.

CLXXVIII. This king was very partial to the Greeks, and favored them on every occasion. Such as wished to have a regular communication with Egypt he permitted to have a settlement at Naucratis. To others, who did not require a fixed residence, as being only engaged in occasional commerce, he assigned certain places for the construction of altars, and the performance of their religious rites. The most spacious and celebrated temple which the Greeks have they call Hellenium. It was built at the joint expense of the Ionians of Chios, Teos, Phocea, and Clazomenæ; of the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; of the Æolians of Mitylene only. Hellenium is the common property of all these cities, who also appoint proper officers for the regulation of their commerce: the claims of other cities to these distinctions and privileges is absurd and false. The Æginetæ, it must be observed, constructed by

tion of Egypt. Nevertheless, as it is known that the number of towns and villages does not exceed two thousand three hundred, and the number of inhabitants in each of them, one with another, including Cairo itself, is not more than a thousand, the total cannot be more than two millions three hundred thousand.—*Volney.*

1 It should rather seem that this law was established in Athens by Draco, and that Solon commuted the punishment of death to that of infamy, against all those who had thrice offended.

themselves a temple to Jupiter, as did the Samians to Juno, and the Milesians to Apollo.

CLXXIX. Formerly Naucratis was the sole emporium of Egypt; whoever came to any other than the Canopian mouth of the Nile, was compelled to swear that it was intirely accidental, and was in the same vessel obliged to go thither. Naucratis was held in such great estimation, that if contrary winds prevente a passage the merchant was obliged to move his goods on board the common boats of the river, and carried them round the Delta to Naucratis.

CLXXX. By some accident the ancient temple of Delphi was once consumed by fire, and the amphictyons voted a sum of three hundred talents to be levied for the purpose of rebuilding it. A fourth part of this was assigned to the Delphians: who, to collect their quota, went about to different cities, and obtained a very considerable sum from Egypt. Amasis presented them[1] with a thousand talents of alum. The Greeks who resided in Egypt made a collection of twenty minæ.

CLXXXI. This king made a strict and amicable confederacy with the Cyreneans; to cement which he determined to take a wife of that country, either to show his particular attachment to the Cyreneans, or his partiality to a woman of Greece. She whom he married is reported by some to have been the daughter

1 Different species of animals were the deities of the different sects among the Egyptians; and the deities being in continual war, engaged their votaries in the same contention. The worshippers of dogs could not long remain in peace with the adorers of cats and wolves. But where that reason took not place, the Egyptian superstition was not so incompatible as is commonly imagined, since we learn from Herodotus that very large contributions were given by Amasis towards rebuilding the temple of Delphi.—Hume.

of Battus, by others of Arcesilaus, or, as some say, of Critobulus. She was certainly descended of an honorable family, and her name was Ladice. When the nuptials came to be celebrated the king found himself afflicted with imbecility. The continuance of this induced him thus to address his wife: 'You have certainly practised some charm to my injury; expect not therefore to escape, but prepare to undergo the most cruel death.' When the woman found all expostulations ineffectual, she vowed, in the temple of Venus, 'that if her husband should be restored, she would present a statue to her at Cyrene.' Her wishes were accomplished; Amasis found his vigor restored, and ever afterwards distinguished her by the kindest affection. Ladice performed her vow, and sent a statue to Venus: it has remained to my time, and may be seen near the city of Cyrene. This same Ladice, when Cambyses afterwards conquered Egypt, was, as soon as he discovered who she was, sent back without injury to Cyrene.

CLXXXII. Numerous were the marks of liberality which Amasis bestowed on Greece. To Cyrene he sent a golden statue of Minerva, with a portrait of himself.[1] To the temple of Minerva at Lindus he gave two marble statues, with a linen corslet, which

1 The art of painting was probably known in Egypt in the first ages, but they do not seem to have succeeded in this art better than in sculpture. Antiquity does not mention any painter or sculptor of Egypt who had acquired celebrity.—*Savary*.

At what period we may venture to date the first origin of painting, is a subject involved in great difficulty. Perhaps we are not extravagant in saying that it was known in the time of the Trojan war. The following note is to be found in Servius, Annot. ad Æneid. ii. ver. 392. 'Scutis Græcorum Neptunus, Trojanorum fuit Minerva depicta.'

With respect to the Egyptians, it is asserted by Tacitus

well deserves inspection. Two figures of himself, carved in wood, he presented to the temple of Juno at Samos: they were placed immediately behind the gates, where they still remain. His kindness to Samos

that they knew the art of designing before they were acquainted with letters.

It is ingeniously remarked by Webb, in favor of the antiquity of painting, that when the Spaniards first arrived in America, the news was sent to the emperor in painted expresses, they not having at that time the use of letters.

Mr. Norden says that in the higher Egypt to this day may be seen amongst the ruins of superb edifices, marbles artificially stained, so exquisitely fresh in point of color, that they seem recently dismissed from the hand of the artist. Winckelmann says that in the Egyptian mummies which have been minutely examined, there are apparent the six distinct colors of white, black, blue, red, yellow, and green; but these, in point of effect, are contemptible, compared with the columns alluded to above, seen and described by Norden. Pococke also tells us that in the ruins of the palaces of the kings of Thebes the picture of the king is painted at full length on stone. Both the sides and ceilings of the room in which this is to be seen are cut with hieroglyphics of birds and beasts, and some of them painted, being as fresh as if they were but just finished, though they must be above two thousand years old.

The ancient heathens were accustomed to paint their idols of a red color, as appears from the following extract from the Wisdom of Solomon:

'The carpenter carved it diligently when he had nothing else to do, and formed it by the skill of his understanding, and fashioned it to the image of a man, or made it like some vile beast, laying it over with vermilion, and with paint coloring it red, and covering every spot therein.'

It seems rather a far-fetched explanation to say that this was done because the first statues were set up in memory of warriors remarkable for shedding much blood. Yet it is so interpreted in Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture. Of ancient painting the relics are indeed but few; but those extolled by Pococke and Norden, and the beautiful specimens which have at different times been dug up at Herculaneum, are sufficient to show that the artists possessed extraordinary excellence. That in particular of Chiron and Achilles, which many ingenious men have not scrupled to ascribe to Parrhasius, is said to be remarkably beautiful.

was owing to the hospitality[1] which subsisted between him and Polycrates, the son of Æax. He had no such motive of attachment to Lindus, but was moved by the report that the temple of Minerva there was erected by the daughters of Danaus, when they fled from the sons of Egyptus. Such was the munificence of Amasis, who was also the first person that conquered Cyprus, and compelled it to pay him tribute.

1 That tie among the ancients, which was ratified by particular ceremonies, and considered as the most sacred of all engagements: nor dissolved except with certain solemn forms, and for weighty reasons.

END OF VOL. I.



